THE COMMUNIST

Vol. XI AUGUST, 1932 No. 8

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The Election Struggle Is the Fight for Bread

MILLIONS of workers and their families are slowly dying of starvation in the United States. This fact determines the character of the election struggle of the Communist Party which culminates in the national balloting on November 8.

Millions of workers, faced with the failure of the present system to provide them with even the opportunity to eat, are searching for a way out, for a new path.

There are only two ways out of the crisis: the capitalist way, which means mass starvation and war, the wholesale destruction of the life of the toilers, and a way out only for the capitalists and their flunkeys; or the workers' way, the way of revolutionary struggle and the final overthrow of capitalism, which is the only solution in the interests of the working class.

But it would be the greatest mistake to think that this necessary choice between the two roads is already understood by the great masses. Only the Communist Party points out this fundamental political lesson to the workers, poor farmers and impoverished middle class elements. All other political organizations and leaders are busily engaged precisely in the one single task of confusing this issue, of making it appear that there are *many* ways out, of varying degrees of effectiveness and thoroughness. They are busy with the time-honored game of herding the rebelling masses onto the capitalist road under the slogan of "choosing the lesser evil." All their differences of policy are mere division of labor for carrying out this single task.

To clarify this fundamental issue for the masses, it is absolutely inadequate merely to *assert* the fundamental unity of all the demagogs who are carrying through the capitalist way out. Before the masses, in appearance, there is no unity, but on the contrary, a growing multitude of differences, of bewildering variety. A thousand demagogs, in a thousand keys and variations, sing the fundamental theme of capitalism.

We must not ignore these differences. On the contrary, we must give each item the most careful and detailed attention, if we are to succeed in our fundamental task of making clear to the masses their fundamental oneness.

The central problem of the election struggle is to win the masses

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from under the influence of these demagogs. It is the struggle for the possession of the soul of the working class.

* * * *

Two months have already passed of the six-month period of the campaign. During this time, we must ask, how effectively have we conducted this struggle?

If we are honest with ourselves, we must be profoundly dissatisfied with our work. Starting with the greatest opportunities, with the events of every day giving point to our election platform, not only nationally and internationally, but in every locality as well, with life itself exposing day by day the hollowness and falsity of the promises of the demagogs—still our election struggle has not penetrated fundamentally into the million-masses.

At the National Nominating Convention in Chicago, the campaign was launched in a reasonably satisfactory manner. A thousand delegates, of native working class composition, came from forty-three states to enthusiastically endorse the platform and candidates of the Party. Platform and candidates combine to provide the best instruments possible to have proceeded from Chicago to the rousing of a broad mass movement of struggle for the immediate necessities of life. The masses have shown a magnificent response to the smallest organized efforts to draw them into the struggle. Still the results are unsatisfactory. We must searchingly examine the causes for this, and bring about that change in the whole work of the Party which will enable us really to bring forth those deep working class forces which are at hand to be mobilized under our leadership.

In all the work of the campaign thus far, the greatest weakness has been the failure to reach out among new groups of workers, hitherto untouched, to bring them into the struggle on the basis of a united front for their immediate needs. There are tremendous opportunities for this. The state conventions thus far held, in spite of the small efforts put in, show this fact. What results have been achieved, however, are largely the spontaneous action of workers and their organizations coming to us under the general influence of the Party platform and slogans, and not of systematic work on our part.

That this is true is shown by the neglect in development of local demands and issues. There is entirely too much reliance upon *only* the national platform demands. In formulating local demands, we have witnessed in case after case merely the restating in a mutilated form the national demands. The Illinois platform which is very good in many respects, suffers from a mere restatement of our national demands. Our national platform is the basic

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document of the campaign, and a powerful one. Its demands should be used as they were adopted, in every locality; their form should not be changed; but they should be *supplemented* by real local and state demands, which arise out of the special circumstances of each state.

The local demands give the special, concrete basis for sharpening the struggle for the national demands. There is no contradiction whatever between them. And it is precisely these concrete local demands which furnish the very best means of winning the *broadest* strata of workers in each locality to active participation in the Communist election struggle. These issues primarily center around the struggle for relief, against evictions, against wage-cuts, against tax-sales, against police terror and denial of workers' rights, etc. (While we cannot overemphasize the importance of local demands, we must at the same time guard ourselves against distorting local demands to a mere enumeration of scores of grievances as is the case in the New York platform.

Upon the basis of local demands, we must build up a broad network of united front committees of struggle which have tasks simultaneously of developing the special fights and of uniting them in the broad election struggle for the interests of the whole working class.

All this requires systematic, organized work, and energetic leadership. It requires the maximum development of initiative of the lower organizations and of individual workers. And above all it requires a comradely, fraternal approach to *all workers*, regardless of what organization they belong to, or if they are entirely unorganized. We must approach the workers to *convince* them, to win their *voluntary* agreement with us and adherence to the united front.

We must sharpen our political struggle against the social-fascist misleaders and demagogs of all stripes. But to sharpen politically, does not mean to use more name-calling, vituperation and shouting, which does not convince the workers, but rather prejudices them against us. And especially it does not mean sharpening against the workers in the reformist organizations, but against the misleaders in order to *separate* the workers from them and win them to our support.

There should be no gathering of workers during the election campaign without the message of the Communist Party being brought to them as clearly as possible. This requires the most systematic, eneregetic, and politically intelligent agitational work. Those who do this work must carefully prepare themselves. They must know the issues closest to the hearts of the particular workers to whom they speak. They must raise these issues in such a way as to

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clearly expose the false promises and betrayals of the misleaders. They must not, by clumsy and unintelligent name-calling, antagonize honest workers to whom the issues are not yet clear. The function of our agitators in penetrating the enemy camps is to *clarify* and *win* the honest workers.

On all these points there are the most serious shortcomings and weaknesses in every district and every city. Especially do we find that our agitators and street speakers are not well prepared for their tasks. Often we hear of the most gross deviations in presenting the Party platform in street meetings. It seems that many comrades think it beneath their dignity to seriously study the Party platform for a few hours before addressing a meeting, and substitute instead of the well-thought-out Party line, their own inspiration of the moment after they have mounted the soap box.

Most serious of all these deviations (which show themselves even in the various state platforms) is the inability to bring the struggle for immediate demands as an integral part and beginning of the struggle for the revolutionary way out of the crisis. But this question of correct relation between immediate demands and the revolutionary solution is the very essence of Bolshevism. Without the solution of this question properly we cannot speak of building a mass Communist Party.

The most prevalent weakness in this respect is the tendency to deal with the immediate demands as merely agitational, not as questions of struggle to be won here and now by mass fight. This is the sectarian tendency. It reduces the immediate demands to mere decoration, and places the ultimate overthrow of capitalism as the only serious objective, through which only can any immediate demands be achieved. This is essentially the same position which is reduced to absurdity in the theory and practice of the sectarian Socialist Labor Party. Its essentially opportunist nature is proved by its fruits in the Socialist Labor Party.

The opposite tendency, to deal only with immediate demands without making them the starting point for developing the understanding of the whole revolutionary way out of the crisis, is the tendency to become lost in the swamp of opportunism. Neglect of the propaganda and agitation of the revolutionary way out, in intimate connection with the struggle for immediate demands, results in disarming our movement before the demagogs and social-fascists. This is the concrete manifestation of the right danger in the election campaign. It leads inevitably toward the surrender to the social-fascist leaders, toward substituting maneuvers and arrangements with the reformist leaders in place of the only correct policy of the united front of the workers from below.

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The necessary strengthening of our election campaign can only be achieved by developing a stubborn and systematic struggle against all these deviations, a struggle on two fronts against "leftist" sectarianism and against the right danger which is the main danger.

Above all it is necessary to liquidate the reformist illusions about the election campaign as something separate from the mass struggles. We do not want, we have not the slightest use for an "election campaign" in the parliamentary sense, as a mere agitation for votes, or agitation for its own sake. By this, of course, we do not mean that we do not energetically fight to elect our candidates. Those comrades who construe our position as being one of indifference toward election victories are showing hangovers of an anti-parliamentary attitude. For us the campaign is a mass struggle. It is first of all the mass struggle for winning now the most burning, immediate demands of the workers. It is an instrument for mobilizing masses for this struggle, not at some future time, but here at this moment. The election struggle must be based upon the struggle for relief, against evictions, against wage-cuts, for the bonus, against police terror, against war, for Negro rights. It must become an instrument of these struggles, and for building the mass organizations that conduct these struggles. It must strengthen these struggles, and raise them to a higher political level. It must thereby make these struggles the very foundation of the fight for organizing and casting the highest possible vote for the Communist candidates, and for electing these candidates wherever possible. And it must bring a profound understanding to the masses that these struggles are only the prelude to bigger and bigger struggles, leading to the establishing of a workers' government, of the proletarian dictatorship, as the only final solution of all fundamental problems.

* * * *

A basic instrument of a mass election struggle is the distribution of our national platform in millions of copies. There is a definite underestimation of this task and its importance throughout the Party. There are no signs anywhere of preparations for real mass distribution of the platform. But without this our campaign will be a miserable fiasco. In all important working class neighborhoods there must be house-to-house distribution of the platform. In every important factory the platform must be placed in the hands of every worker. The platform is available in very cheap leaflet form for this purpose. In addition, there must be mass sale of the election pamphlets, which are issued at one and two cents each, and which provide the basic educational and agitational instruments for the national struggle.

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Mass literature distribution still remains almost a lost art to our Party. We have a rich literature, well prepared and very cheaply issued. But it is neglected in a most shameful manner. We are satisfied with the distribution of a few hundred dollars worth each month by a district. Almost no literature is sold except what the workers force us to sell by demanding it and coming after it. But meeting after meeting is held with no systematic sale of literature. Workers go into their shops, their unions and clubs, day after day without a thought of a little systematic distribution of literature among their fellow workers.

There is a tremendous market for literature of our Party. The workers are hungry for it. They are ready to pay for it. The sale of literature can easily become a very important help to the promotion of every other field of Party work. But so long as it is left in its present unorganized condition, it will continue to drag and instead of being a help to all sides of our work, it will continue as at present to be looked upon as another burden on the organization. This must be drastically changed if we are to realize our quite possible goal of a million Communist votes on November 8th.

The election campaign is a struggle, the struggle of the masses for bread, a struggle against imperialist war, a struggle for the defense of the Soviet Union. It must be understood in this sense, must be organized and conducted as a mass struggle. Only then will it become a Bolshevik campaign, and mark a further milestone in the development of a mass Communist Party.

THE DANGER OF ANTI-PARLIAMENTARISM

"Anti-parliamentarism," in principle, in the sense of an absolute and categorical repudiation of participation in the elections and the parliamentary revolutionary work, cannot, therefore, bear criticism, and is a naive, childish doctrine, which is founded sometimes on a healthy disgust of politicians, but which does not understand the possibilities of revolutionary parliamentarism. Besides, very often this doctrine is connected with a quite erroneous idea of the role of the Party, which in this case is considered not as a fighting, centralized advance-guard of the workers, but as a decentralized system of badly joined revolutionary nuclei.

From "The Communist Party and Parliamentarism"—Theses adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International—July 17-*August* 7, 1920.

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Unemployed Work — Our Weak Point

By A. ALLEN

THE crisis in the United States is continually growing deeper. Unemployment is increasing. The hunger and misery among the broadest strata of the population is taking on more appalling forms. In such a situation the ruling class is making greater and greater efforts to smash the resistance of the workers and especially the fight of the unemployed for immediate relief and for unemployment insurance.

As weapons in this respect, the bourgeoisie uses simultaneously two methods: on the one hand, the most merciless terror in order to annihilate the militant workers' organizations by means of arrests, long prison sentences, deportations, etc., and, on the other hand, the various ways of cheating the workers by means of rosy promises, radical phrases, prophecies of the rapid return of prosperity. These methods of the bourgeoisie are called demagogy. The main weapons of the bourgeoisie, however, are the misleaders of labor. Their specialty, of course, during decades has been to study the workers' movement. In many cases they have themselves come from the ranks of the working class. As such fakers we have, first of all, the leaders of the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party, with their various shades and groups. In other words, these are the people whom the revolutionary workers call social fascists and who, notwithstanding their socialist phrases, are ready to support even the most fascist methods of the bourgeoisie to suppress the struggle of the working class.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST DEMAGOGY

During the past months the bourgeoisie, helped by these methods and supporters, has been especially active among the unemployed. The police terror which is becoming more and more brutal does not require any comment in this article. The workers all over the country have fresh in their memory the murders of the unemployed workers in Detroit, Cleveland and in Chicago. The capitalist class is showing in practice how the much-praised American democracy is supported to an ever-increasing extent by means of

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police clubs, guns and tear gas, against the workers who have been brave enough to go in masses in order to demand their most elementary rights.

These facts need not be commented upon. Instead of that it might be advisable to bring before our readers some facts from the field of bourgeois demagogy. The presidential candidate of the Democratic Party, the one hundred per cent representative of American imperialism, Mr. Roosevelt, has been lifted on a pedestal as the special representative of the "forgotten man." This banner-bearer of the American bourgeoisie again has his own representative such as the former Republican General Butler who made a special trip to Washington to speak to the hungry members of the Bonus Expeditionary Force. His speech did not lack anything in "radicalism." On the contrary, he called upon the veterans to "stick together" and fight their cause to the victorious end. But of course the aim of all this ballyhoo was to get votes for Mr. Roosevelt from among the badly cheated war veterans. Father Cox, with the blessing of the American bourgeoisie, is organizing his own unemployed army of "blue shirts" with the purpose of using this army to suppress the struggle of the unemployed and to suppress their real organization.

In order to compete with the Democrats, Mr. Hoover has signed the so-called Emergency Relief Bill which is being broadcasted by the whole bourgeoisie press as a measure for the unemployed. The reading of this bill makes clear to everyone that it cannot and does not alleviate the distress of the unemployed. On the contrary, it only provides additional billions for the continuation of the ill-fated Reconstruction Finance Corporation. It provides additional support for the big capitalists by means of inflation, by putting into circulation depreciated paper money.

At the same time, the powerful agitational-propaganda machinery of the bourgeoisie is busy preparing the minds of the working population for further placing the burden of the crisis upon the shoulders of the working class. The social fascists are taking care of the organizational steps. In many places, especially in the West, the social fascists have been very active organizing the unemployed into their organizations for the purpose of keeping them from joining in united mass struggles. Such struggle is the only means by which the unemployed can get improvement in their miserable conditions.

We know on the basis of the experiences in this country, as well as in other countries, that the only force which is able to organize the millions of unemployed and lead them to fight for

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better conditions is the Communist Party and the mass organizations following its political leadership.

THE PARTY'S LEADING ROLE

Has our Party, however, been able to fulfill this tremendous task falling upon its shoulders? In its resolution on unemployed work, the Central Committee of our Party last October stated as follows:

> "The Central Committee declares that in spite of certain successes in consolidating its influence among the unemployed, the Party has so far lagged dangerously behind in the task of organizing a widespread movement of the unemployed." *

What was true then holds generally good at the present moment. The October resolution on unemployment has been passed nine months ago. The Fourteenth Plenum of the Central Committee of our Party in April, in its resolution, especially emphasized the necessity of strengthening the work among the unemployed and called for an energetic carrying through of the October resolution. Yet in face of this, it must be admitted that excepting the National Hunger March of last December, very little progress can be recorded in this work and in many places we see an actual backward trend.

The powerful demonstration on International Unemployed Day, March 6, 1930, still remains the greatest mass demonstration of the unemployed conducted under the leadership of our Party. But the number of unemployed has multiplied since then, and along with this has also multiplied the efforts of our class enemies to take control of the unemployed movement and to smash the organized resistance of the unemployed movement. Unfortunately the efforts on the part of our Party have not progressed on the same scale in organizing and leading the struggles of the unemployed.

Where is the reason for this neglect to be found? Not among the unemployed masses themselves. On the contrary, there are many facts even during recent weeks pointing out that the unemployed are more than ever ready to fight. What is the Bonus March of the war veterans but a genuine part of the struggles of the unemployed? In many instances the unemployed have directly applied to the Party asking its leadership in their struggles. In spite of the increased efforts on the part of the social fascists and

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* Printed in full in the pamphlet *Toward Revolutionary Mass Work*. Workers Library Publishers. Ten cents.

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the bourgeoisie, our Party should have been able to do much more than it has done.

First, it is clear that the resolution of the Central Committee adopted last October has to a great extent remained on paper. It has not become the property of the whole Party. One of the most important questions before the Party at the present time is the energetic carrying through of this resolution. It is not too late even now, despite the fact that much valuable time has been lost.

It is evident on the basis of the discussions with the rank and file members in various places, that only a few of our Party members have read the resolution on unemployment, not speaking of the resolution being discussed in the units, and of the systematic and persistent work for its realization. As an example, let it be mentioned that when at one of our district conventions held recently, the participants were asked how many of them really studied the resolution, only four or five hands were raised out of more than fifty responsible Party comrades present.

CLARITY ON ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS

There still prevails great confusion as to the organizational forms of the unemployment movement. In spite of the fact that these forms have been clearly enough explained in the resolution, very often our comrades in the meetings speak in one breath of unemployed councils, branches, block committees, neighborhood committees, without making any distinction whatsoever between these various organizations. This shows the bad inclination to use terms and words without thinking what are their conditions and what we mean by them. Furthermore, in speaking about organizing the unemployed, our comrades almost without exception always say "we have been able to *organize* a block committee, neighborhood committee or unemployed council." But you hardly ever hear them say that in connection with such and such events there has been *elected* a block committee, etc. Sometimes for instance, the comrades tell about the organization of an unemployed council, but by a more thorough investigation as to this council we find that it is not a *council* composed of elected delegates of various organizations, but that it simply is a meeting of leading and most active comrades, or even non-Party workers, who come together more or less regularly to speak about work among the unemployed.

Such examples are alarming facts which show that Party comrades in many cases have not the slightest idea what we mean by organizing the broadest possible united front of the unemployed. However, it must be kept in mind that committees of the unem-

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ployed movement have value only in so far as they really are elected organs by workers themselves, and these elected organs have a certain value and authority among workers only in so far as they themselves conduct regular and continuous work among those workers who have elected them. But very often it happens that we do not hear anything about the committee after it has been "organized." It is quite obvious that the most elementary rules of any organization presupposes that such a committee must have a certain place where it can be found, and where the workers in question really find either this committee or at least one member of this committee at a certain time. Furthermore, such a committee must come together regularly, call meetings of the workers whom it embraces, make plans and suggestions at the meetings of these workers and get their support for such plans and suggestions.

Similar confusion as to the organizational forms of the unemployed movement can be found in the slogans used by the comrades. Our main slogan is "unemployment insurance at the expense of the government and the employers." But the popularization of this slogan is very often made in a very mechanical way. It is quite obvious that the main thought of a hunger-stricken worker is how to get bread, and if we approach him with a slogan like unemployment insurance we do not get anywhere, notwithstanding the fact that this thing may sound very good in his ears. We must very patiently and persistently explain to the unemployed as well as to the employed workers that "unemployment insurance" is the only means by which there can be abolished the insecurity which is always present if the unemployed are dependent upon the temporary relief of charity institutions, municipal administrations, etc. And in explaining this, in showing to the workers that only through persistent and mass action of employed and unemployed workers can this demand be gained, it is of course our first duty to try to help the hungry workers to get immediate relief.

In organizing the unemployed the greatest attention must be paid to their most immediate needs. For instance, in Detroit there was a whole section of workers, most of them unemployed, who were on the verge of losing their small homes, the debts of which were their only remembrance of the "days of prosperity." The main concern of these workers was how to keep their small homes. By explaining to them that they can stop the forced sale of their homes only by joint resistance, by joint delegations to the city administrations, etc., our comrades succeeded in building genuine unemployed committees in that section in Detroit and to draw in

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these workers in the common fight of the unemployed, and for unemployment insurance. This in spite of the fact that many of them were religious and backward. It is obvious that these workers would have remained outside of our organization if we would have confined ourselves, as we often do, to simply telling the workers about the good things which unemployment insurance will bring for them.

In many places a conception seems to prevail among our comrades that the committee of the unemployed (in most cases the comrades understand this as a block committee) can be organized only through struggle and that the struggle is generally understood to be an eviction case. Experience has shown that the eviction cases are excellent actions in connection with which committees can be elected, but it is not to be forgotten that the life of the unemployed, every day and every hour, is a most bitter fight and that there are, in addition to eviction cases, hundreds of issues in connection with which genuine committees of the unemployed can be elected. This is accomplished by the necessary agitational and propagandistic work, preparatory meetings, etc. The only problem is how to make these committees work after being elected.

METHODS OF STRUGGLE

As to the general weakness of the demonstrations conducted under the leadership of our Party, we see that they, in most cases, have not given any push to the strengthening of the organizational work among the unemployed. At this time, if ever, it is necessary to improve our work in this respect and it very much depends upon what we say to the workers in these demonstrations. We must learn to give concrete advice to the thousands of people participating in these demonstrations. Sometime ago there was organized a city-wide hunger march. There the comrades, besides their general speeches emphasized the fact that all unemployed, whatever their grievances, may come at any time with these grievances to the office of the unemployed council. The workers came and their cases were in an organized manner brought to the city administration, etc. The fact that these workers came to the office of the unemployed council gave the council an opportunity to immediately create many new block committees.

In the above we have presented some of the very elementary shortcomings which to a greater extent than we were inclined to suppose, have hindered the success of the Party in our work among the unemployed.

The overcoming of these shortcomings depends entirely upon

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ourselves, upon our ability to effect the necessary improvement of our work, in the fight against superficial and mechanical methods of work still prevailing in the ranks and in the organizations of our Party. In other words, this means the energetic carrying through by the entire Party membership of the resolutions of the Fourteenth Plenum and the Central Committee of our Party. The unemployment resolution adopted by the Central Committee last October holds good today more than ever. We cannot afford to forget this. It must still be studied, discussed, and steps taken to systematically carry it out.

At the time when fifteen million unemployed are striving to take up the fight for their most elementary needs, at the time when the bourgeoisie and the social fascists are making every effort to crush the ranks of these millions of workers, our Party is the only organized political force capable of organizing and leading these struggles of the unemployed, the starving millions.

As one unemployed Negro woman of Chicago put it: "He who does not fight does not eat." The Party must become more sensitive to the fighting moods of the masses as expressed in the statement of the unemployed Negro woman.

REVOLUTIONARY PARLIAMENTARISM

The rank-and-file Communist worker must not shrink from speaking in the bourgeois parliaments, and not give way to the so-called experienced parliamentarians, even if such workingmen members may read their speeches from notes, in order that the speech may be printed afterwards in the papers or in leaflet form.

The Communist members must make use of the parliamentary tribune to denounce not only the bourgeoisie and its hangers-on, but also for the denunciation of the social patriots, reformists, the half-and-half politicians of the *center* and other opponents of Communism, and for the wide propagation of the ideas of the Third International.

The Communist members, even though there should be only one or two of them in the Parliament, should by their whole conduct challenge capitalism, and never forget that only those are worthy of the name of Communists, who not in words only but in deeds are the mortal enemy of the bourgeois order and its social patriotic flunkies.

From "The Communist Party and Parliamentarism"—Theses adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International—July 17-August 7, 1920.

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Should Communists Participate in Bourgeois Parliaments?*

By V. I. LENIN

WITH the greatest contempt—and the greatest light-mindedness, the German "Left" Communists reply to this question in the negative. Their arguments? In the quotation cited above, we read: "to refuse most decisively any return to the historically and politically worn-out form of struggle of parliamentarism."

This is said with absurd pretentiousness, and is obviously incorrect. "Return" to parliamentarism! Does that mean that the Soviet Republic already exists in Germany? It does not look as though such were the case. How is it possible, then, to speak of "returning"? Is not this an empty phrase?

Historically, "parliament has become worn-out"; this is correct as regards propaganda. But everyone knows that it is still very far from being threadbare when the *practical* question of eliminating parliament is under consideration. Capitalism could (and very rightly) have been described as "historically worn-out" many decades ago, but this in no way removes the necessity of a very long and very hard struggle against capitalism at the present day. Parliamentarism is "historically worn-out" in a world-historical sense; that is to say, the epoch of bourgeois parliaments has *come to an end*, the epoch of the proletarian dictatorship *has begun*. This is incontestably true. But the scale of the world's history is not reckoned by decades. Ten or twenty years sooner or later — this from the point of view of the world-historical scale — makes no difference; from the point of view of world-history, it is a trifle, which cannot be even approximately reckoned. But this is just why it is a crying theoretical mistake in questions of practical politics to refer to the world-historical scale.

Parliament is "politically worn-out"? This is quite another mat-

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* Reprinted from the pamphlet by Lenin: *"Left" Communism—An Infantile Disorder*, written in 1920. May be ordered from Workers Library Publishers. Ten cents. On this subject the readers are also referred to the Theses of the Second Congress of the Communist International (1920) on "The Communist Party and Parliamentarism," reprinted in *The Communist* for February, 1032, and the Resolution of the Enlarged Presidium of the E. C. C. I., February, 1930: "The Tasks of the Communist Sections Regarding Municipal Policy," reprinted in *The Communist* for March, 1932.

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ter. If this were true, the position of the "Left" would be strong. Whether it is actually true must be proved by the most searching analysis; the "Left" do not even know how to tackle the problem. In the "theses on Parliamentraism," published in No. 1 of the *Bulletin of the Provisional Amsterdam Bureau of the Communist International*, February, 1920, which obviously expresses Dutch "Left" (or "Left" Dutch) views, we shall see that the analysis too, is very poor.

In the first place, the German "Left," as is known, considered parliamentarism "politically worn-out" as far back as January, 1919, contrary to the opinion of such eminent political leaders as Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. It has now been seen that the "Left" made a mistake. This alone radically destroys the proposition that "parliamentarism is politically worn-out." It is incumbent upon the "Left" to prove that their mistake at that time has now ceased to be a mistake. They do not, and cannot, give even the shadow of a proof of their proposition. The attitude of a political party toward its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest criteria of the seriousness of the party, and of how it fulfills in practice its obligations toward its class and toward the laboring masses. To admit a mistake openly, to disclose its reasons, to analyze the surroundings which created it, to study attentively the means of correcting it—these are the signs of a serious Party; this means the performance of its duties; this means educating and training the class, and, subsequently, the masses. By neglecting this, by failing to proceed with the utmost care, attention and prudence to investigate their self-evident mistake, the "Left" in Germany (and some in Holland) proved themselves thereby to be not a *class* party, but a circle, not a party of the *masses*, but a group of intellectuals, copying the worst aspects of the intellectualism of a handful of workingmen.

Secondly, in the same pamphlet of the Frankfurt group of the "Left," from which we have already cited in detail, we read: "Millions of workmen, still following the policy of the center" (the Catholic "Center" Party) "are counter-revolutionary. The village proletarians produce legions of counter-revolutionary troops." (p. 3.)

Everything shows that this is said in much too off-hand and exaggerated a manner. But the fact here stated is fundamentally correct, and its acknowledgement by the "Left" goes to prove their mistake with particular clearness. How is it possible to say that "parliamentarism is politically worn-out," when "millions" and "legions" of proletarians not only stand up for parliamentarism generally, but are directly counter-revolutionary? It is clear, then, that parliamentarism in Germany is *not* worn-out politically as yet.

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It is evident that the "Left" in Germany have mistaken their desire, their ideo-political attitude, for objective reality. This is the most dangerous error which can be made by revolutionists. In Russia, where the fierce and savage yoke of Czarism, extending over a long period, had created an extraordinarily great variety of revolutionists of every creed, remarkable for their wonderful devotion, enthusiasm, strength of mind, and heroism, we watched this mistake particularly closely; and it is because we studied it with particular attention that this mistake is especially familiar to us, and especially apparent to our eyes when revolutionists in other countries fall into it. For the Communists in Germany, parliamentarism *is*, of course, "politically worn-out"; but—and this is the whole point—we must not deem that that which is worn-out for us is necessarily worn-out for the class, the masses. Here, again, we see that the "Left" do not know how to argue, do not know how to behave as a class, as a party of the masses. True, it is our duty not to sink to the level of the masses, to the level of the backward strata of the class. This is incontestable. It is our duty to tell them the bitter truth. It is our duty to call their bourgeois democratic and parliamentary prejudices by their right name. But, at the same time, it is our duty to watch soberly the actual state of consciousness and preparedness of the whole class, and not of the Communist vanguard alone; of the whole laboring mass, and not merely of its foremost men.

If, not "millions" and "legions," but merely a considerable *minority* of industrial workers follow the Catholic priests, and if a considerable minority of village workers follow the land-owners and rich peasants, it inevitably means that parliamentarism in Germany is *not* politically worn-out as yet; hence participation in parliamentary elections and the struggle on the parliamentary platform is *obligatory* for the party of the revolutionary proletariat, just for the purpose of educating the backward masses of its own class, just in order to awaken and enlighten the undeveloped, downtrodden, ignorant masses. Just as long as you are unable to disperse the bourgeois parliament and other reactionary institutions, you are *bound* to work inside them, for the very reason that there are still workmen within them made fools of by priests or by the remoteness of village life. Otherwise you run the risk of becoming mere babblers.

Thirdly, the "Left" Communists have a great deal to say in praise of us Bolsheviki. One sometimes feels like telling them that it were better to praise us less, and go more thoroughly into the tactics of the Bolsheviki, to get better acquainted with them. We participated in the elections to the Russian bourgeois parliament, the

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Constituent Assembly, in September-November, 1917. Were our tactics right or not? If not, this should be clearly stated and proved; this is essential for the working out of the right tactics for International Communism. If, on the other hand, we were right, certain inferences should be drawn. Of course, there can be no question of comparing Russian conditions with the conditions of Western Europe. But when the special question of the phrase "parliamentarism has become politically worn-out" is concerned, it is necessary by all means to gauge our experience; since without a proper estimate of concrete experiences, such conceptions too easily resolve themselves into empty phrases. Had not we Russian Bolsheviki in September-November, 1917, more right than any Western Communist to consider that parliamentarism in Russia had become politically treadbare? Undoubtedly we had, for the point is not whether bourgeois parliamentarism has existed for a long or a short period, but to what extent the laboring masses are prepared, spiritually, politically and practically to accept the Soviet regime and to disperse (or allow to be dispersed) the bourgeois democratic parliament. That in Russia, in September-November, 1917, the working classes of the towns, the soldiers and the peasants, were, owing to a series of special circumstances, exceptionally well prepared for the acceptance of the Soviet regime and the dispersion of the democratic bourgeois parliament, is a quite incontestable and fully-established historical fact. However, the Bolsheviki did not boycott the Constituent Assembly, but took part in the elections before, as well as after, the conquest of political power by the proletariat. That these elections gave very valuable and (for the proletariat) highly beneficial political results—this I hope to be proved in the above-mentioned article, which deals in detail with the data concerning the elections to the Constituent Assembly in Russia.

The inference which follows from this is quite clear; it has been proved that participation in bourgeois-democratic parliaments a few weeks before the victory of the Soviet Republic, and even after that victory, not only has not harmed the revolutionary proletariat, but has actually made it easier to prove to the backward masses why such parliaments should be dispersed, has made it easier to disperse them, and has facilitated the process whereby bourgeois parliaments are actually *made* "politically worn-out." To pretend to belong to the Communist International, which must work out its tactics *internationally* (not on narrow national lines), and not to reckon with this experience, is to commit a great blunder, and, while acknowledging Internationalism in words, to draw back from it in deeds.

Let us have a look at the arguments of the Dutch "Left" in

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favor of non-participation in parliaments. Here is the most important of their theses, No. 4:

> "When the capitalist system of production is broken down and society is in a state of revolution, parliamentary activity gradually loses its significance as compared with the activity of the masses themselves. When then, under such conditions parliament becomes the center and organs of counter-revolution, while on the other hand the working class creates the tools of its power in the shape of Soviets, it may even become necessary to decline all and any participation in parliamentary activity.'

The first sentence is obviously wrong, since the action of the masses—a big strike, for instance—is always more important than parliamentary activity, and not merely during a revolution or in a revolutionary situation. This obviously meaningless argument, historically and politically incorrect, only shows, with particular clearness, that the authors absolutely ignore both the general European experience (the French experience before the revolutions of 1848 and 1870; the German from 1878 to 1890, etc.), and the Russian, cited above, with regard to the importance of unifying legal and illegal forms of the struggle. This question has immense significance generally as well as specifically. In all civilized and advanced countries, the time is coming speedily when such unification becomes more and more, and, to an extent, has already become, obligatory for the Party of the revolutionary proletariat. It is necessitated by the development and approach of the civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, by the furious persecution of Communists, by republican and all bourgeois governments generally, breaking the law in innumerable ways (the American example alone is invaluable). This most important question has not been at all understood by these Dutch "Left Communists" or by the "Left" generally.

The second sentence of the thesis is, in the first place, historically untrue. We Bolsheviki took part in the most counter-revolutionary parliaments. Experience showed that such participation was not only useful, but necessary to the Party of the revolutionary proletariat, directly after the first bourgeois revolution in Russia (in 1905), to prepare the way for the second bourgeois revolution (February, 1917), and then for the socialist revolution (November, 1917). In the second place, this sentence is strikingly illogical. If parliament becomes an organ and a "center" (by the way, it never has been in reality, and never can be, a "center") of counter-revolution, and the workmen create the tools of their power in the form of Soviets, it follows that the workers must prepare themselves—ideologically, politically, technically—for the struggle

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of the Soviets against parliament, for the dispersion of parliament by the Soviets. But it does not at all follow that such a dispersion is made more difficult, or is not facilitated, by the presence of Soviet opposition within the counter-revolutionary parliament. In the course of our victorious fight against Denikin and Kolchak, it never occured to us that the existence in their rear of a Soviet, proletarian opposition, was immaterial to our victories. We know perfectly well that the dispersion of the Constituent Assembly on January 5, 1918, was not made more difficult, but was facilitated by the fact that, within the dispersed counter-revolutionary Constituent Assembly, there was a consistent Bolshevik, as well as an inconsistent Left Social-Revolutionary, Soviet opposition. The authors of the theses got into a muddle; they forgot the experience of many, if not all, revolutions, which proved how particularly useful during a revolution is the coordination of mass action outside a reactionary parliament with an opposition inside the parliament which sympathizes with—or better still, directly supports—revolution.

These Dutchmen (and the "Left" in general) altogether argue here as doctrinaires of revolution, who never took part in a real one, or never deeply reflected on the history of revolution, or naively mistake the subjective "denial" of a certain reactionary institution for its destruction in reality by the united forces of a whole series of objective factors. The surest way of discrediting a new political (and not only political) idea, and to cause it harm, is, under pretext of defending it, to reduce it to an absurdity. For every truth, as Dietzgen senior said, if it be "carried to excess," if it be exaggerated, if it be carried beyond the limits of actual application, can be reduced to an absurdity; and, under the conditions mentioned, is even bound to fall into an absurdity. In their very zeal to help, the Dutch and German "Left" did unwitting harm to the new idea of the superiority of Soviet power over bourgeois-democratic parliaments. Of course, anyone who should say, in the old sweeping way, that refusal to participate in bourgeois parliaments can under no circumstances be permissible, would be wrong. I cannot attempt here to formulate the conditions under which a boycott is useful, for the scope of my article is more limited; here I only want to consider Russian experience in connection with certain burning questions of the day, questions of international Communist tactics. Russian experience has given us one successful and *correct* application of the boycott by the Bolsheviki (1905), and one *incorrect* application of it (1906). In the first case, we see that we succeeded in preventing the convocation of a reactionary parliament by a reactionary government, under conditions in which revolutionary mass action (strike in particular) outside parliament

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was growing with exceptional rapidity. At that time, not a single element of the proletariat or the peasantry gave any support to the reactionary government; the proletariat secured for itself influence over the backward masses by means of strike and agrarian movements. It is quite evident that this experience is not applicable to present-day European conditions. It is also quite evident, on the strength of the foregoing arguments, that even a conditional defense of the refusal to participate in parliament, on the part of the Dutch and the "Left," is thoroughly wrong and harmful to the cause of the revolutionary proletariat.

In Western Europe and America, parliament has become an object of special aversion to the advanced revolutionists of the working class. This is self-evident, and is quite comprehensible, for it is difficult to imagine anything more abominable, base, and treacherous than the behavior of the overwhelming majority of Socialists and Social-Democratic deputies in parliament, during and after the period of the war. But it would be not only unreasonable, but obviously criminal, to yield to such a frame of mind when solving the question of how to struggle against this generally admitted evil. In many countries of Western Europe, the revolutionary mood is, we might say, a "novelty," a "rarity," which has been too long expected, vainly and impatiently, it may be; and it may be because of this that people so easily yield to this frame of mind. Of course, without a revolutionary disposition on the part of the masses, and without conditions tending to enhance this disposition, revolutionary tactics will never materialize in action. But by long, painful, and bloody experience, we in Russia have convinced ourselves of the truth that it is impossible to build up revolutionary tactics solely on revolutionary dispositions and moods.

Tactics should be constructed on a sober and strictly objective consideration of the forces of a given country (and of the countries surrounding it, and of all countries, on a world scale), as well as on an evaluation of the experience of other revolutionary movements. To manifest one's revolutionism solely by dint of swearing at parliamentary opportunism, by rejecting participation in parliaments, is very easy; but, just because it is too easy, it is not the solution of a difficult, a most difficult, problem. In most European states, the creation of a really revolutionary parliamentary group is much more difficult than it was in Russia. Of course. But this is only one aspect of the general truth that it was easy for Russia, in the concrete, historically quite unique, situation of 1917, to begin a social revolution; whereas to continue it and complete it will be more difficult for Russia than for other European countries.

Already at the beginning of 1918, I had occasion to point out

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this circumstance, and since then an experience of two years entirely corroborates this point of view. Certain specific conditions existed in Russia which do not at present exist in Western Europe, and a repetition of such conditions in another country is not very probable. These specific conditions were (1) the possibility of connecting the Soviet revolution with the conclusions, thanks to it, of the imperialist war which had exhausted the workers and peasants to an incredible extent; (2) the possibility of making use, for a certain time, of the deadly struggle of two world-powerful groups of imperialist plunderers, who were unable to unite against their Soviet enemy; (3) the possibility of withstanding a comparatively lengthy civil war, partly because of the gigantic dimensions of the country and the bad means of communication; (4) the existence of such a profound bourgeois-revolutionary movement among the peasantry that the proletarian party included in its program the revolutionary demands of the peasant party (the Socialist Revolutionists, a party sharply hostile to Bolshevism), and at once realized these demands through the proletarian conquest of political power.

The absence of these specific conditions—not to mention various minor ones—accounts for the greater difficulty which Western Europe must experience in *beginning* the social revolution. To attempt to "circumvent" this difficulty, by "jumping over" the hard task of utilizing reactionary parliaments for revolutionary purposes, is absolute childishness. You wish to create a new society? And yet you fear the difficulties entailed in forming, in a reactionary parliament, a sound group composed of convinced, devoted, heroic Communists! Is not this childishness? Karl Liebknecht in Germany and Z. Hoglund in Sweden succeeded, even without the support of the masses from below, in giving examples of a truly revolutionary utilization of reactionary parliaments. Why, then, should a rapidly-growing revolutionary mass party, under conditions of post-war disappointment and exasperation of the masses, be unable to hammer out for itself a Communist fraction in the worst of parliaments? It is just because, in Western Europe, the backward masses of the workers and the smaller peasantry are much more strongly inmued with bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary prejudices than they are in Russia, that it is only in the midst of such institutions as bourgeois parliaments that Communists can and should carry on their long and stubborn struggle to expose, disperse, and overcome these prejudices, stopping at nothing.

The German "Left" complain of bad "leaders" in their party and give way to despair, going to the length of a laughable "repudiation" of the said "leaders." But when conditions are such that it is often necessary to hide the "leaders" underground, the pre-

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paration of good, reliable, experienced and authoritative "leaders" is an especially hard task, and these difficulties cannot be successfully overcome without coordinating legal with illegal work, without testing the "leaders" *in the parliamentary arena, among others.* The most merciless, cutting, uncompromising criticism must be directed, not against parliamentarism or parliamentary action, but against those leaders who are unable—and still more against those who do not wish—to utilize parliamentary elections and the parliamentary platform as revolutionists and Communists should. Only such criticism—added, of course, to the expulsion of worthless leaders and their replacement by capable ones—will constitute useful and fruitful revolutionary work. Thus will both the leaders themselves be trained to become worthy of the working class and the toiling masses, and the masses learn correctly to understand the political situation, and to understand the often very complicated and intricate problems that originate from such situations.

PACIFISM AND THE PEACE SLOGAN

A mass sentiment for peace often expresses the beginning of a protest, an indignation and a consciousness of the reactionary nature of the war. It is the duty of all Social-Democrats to take advantage of this sentiment. They will take the most ardent part in every movement and in every demonstration made on this basis, but they will not deceive the people by assuming that in the absence of a revolutionary movement it is possible to have peace without annexations, without the oppression of nations, without robbery, without planting the seed of new wars among the present governments and the ruling classes. Such deception would only play into the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries and their counter-revolutionary plans. Whoever wishes a durable and democratic peace must be for civil war against the governments and the bourgeoisie.

From "The Imperialist War," by Lenin.

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The Fight Against Sectarianism in the National Miners Union

By TOM JOHNSON

LAST summer the National Miners Union led the biggest strike of American workers under revolutionary leadership in the history of the labor movement. This summer the miners are again in motion, striking against wage cuts in Illinois, Ohio and West Virginia. Without exception these strikes, involving altogether close to a hundred thousand workers, are under the leadership of the reformist union—the United Mine Workers of America.

In no other industry has the capitalist offensive against the wages and standards of both employed and unemployed gone so far. Wage cut follows wage cut with clock-like regularity in all fields. The already totally inadequate charity relief to the unemployed is steadily reduced. The standard of living of the miners is being systematically forced to levels lower than that of any other important section of the American working class. The miners are ready to fight back. They *are* fighting back, as mass strikes in almost every important coal field prove. Why then has the National Miners Union completely failed to organize and lead determined struggles of the coal miners against the capitalist offensive? The whole future development of our union depends upon a correct answer to this question.

The basic factor in the situation is the *isolation of the union from the masses of miners.*

If the National Miners Union members, however, were organized in *functioning* locals, intimately connected with the masses of working miners in those mines where we have members and with the unemployed and blacklisted miners; if they understood how to establish and maintain firm contact with the masses; if they reacted immediately to every attack on wages and conditions; if, in a word, they were able to seize hold of the most pressing problems and needs of the miners and to organize first local and then mass struggles around them, they would constitute a powerful revolutionizing factor in the mining industry. Unfortunately, such is not the case. Why?

First reason*: *the inner orientation of the union. Our local unions lead a life of their own entirely separate and apart from the life

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of the masses. They are so engrossed in their own internal problems and the general campaigns and problems of the revolutionary movement that they have no time to deal with the problems facing the miners with whom they are in contact. Mine local meetings, instead of discussing the burning needs and demands of the miners in *that particular mine* and the actual organization and leadership of a local struggle around such demands, are taken up with interminable discussions on the Communist Party election campaign, the campaign against the Dies Bill, the state of the local International Labor Defense organizations, etc., etc. Local meetings become kind of social gatherings where old friends meet to chew over and rehash internal problems and squabbles of every phase of the revolutionary movement.

Many of these general campaigns brought into the local unions are unquestionably important and must receive the attention and support of the union. The trouble is they are wrongly introduced, they are not considered in relation to the problems of the masses of miners in the midst of which the local works. Each campaign is treated as something separate and apart from other campaigns and is not used to further the central task of the local union—the organization of the miners in its mine for struggle against the coal operators' offensive. Miners join our union primarily to defeat wage cuts and win better conditions. When they find out that the local organization relegates such matters to second place they leave the union.

A UNION OF THE WORKERS

As a result largely of this inner orientation our local organizations, with a few exceptions, see little need for discipline and regularity in the functioning of the locals. The general attitude is: "We are all close comrades here, there are no 'outsiders,' therefore why worry about such things as meetings that start on time with a regular order of business and are run with discipline according to parliamentary rules? Such things may be necessary for a business-like organization such as the United Mine Workers, but we don't need them in a revolutionary union."

The point here is that the miners do want a business-like organization. They are used to meetings that start on time, to locals in the old U. M. W. of A. with a full complement of officers, to some formality and discipline in the conduct of the meetings, the regular payment of dues, etc. Despite the opinion of some comrades, we will do well to take over some of these earlier militant traditions of the United Mine Workers of America. Incidentally it may be

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remarked here that we are only setting up barriers between us and the masses when we use this jargon of "Agit-prop," "Org. Secretary," etc., in our union. If the miners are used to and want a president, vice-president and secretary-treasurer in their union, both nationally and in the locals, why the devil not have them rather than Org. Secretaries, etc.?

Flowing directly from this whole conception of a "union *for* the workers, not *of* the workers," is the attitude of the union toward those struggles which do develop. A case in point is the Coverdale situation. The union had close to 100 members out of the 800 working in the Number 8 mine in Coverdale when the company, with the aid of the United Mine Workers of America, tried (successfully as it turned out) to put over a wage cut. Our whole approach to this situation was that of an outside agency coming in to help the miners defeat the wage cut. Instead of preparing for the fight through a broad discussion among the miners themselves on the forms and methods of struggle, the demands, etc., we came to the miners *from above* with a cut and dried formula of the united front, which not only the masses of miners but our own leading comrades failed to understand. (I sometimes wish we could stop worshiping at the shrine of those magic words "united front," and without once mentioning them, get down to the job of explaining to the miners in an understandable way why we must all fight together for certain definite demands if we really want to win them.) No serious attempts were made to develop the initiative of *all the miners*, including those outside our own ranks, in calling the strike to defeat the cut. It is typical of our work that when it came to a question of raising ten dollars to pay for trucks to bring unemployed workers to reinforce the picket line on July 1, our comrades came to the National Office of the union for this money and not to the miners who were involved. In its crassest form this attitude is nothing but rotten humanitarianism and has no place in the revolutionary movement.

This conception of the union as a narrow organization expresses itself also in the demand that all members be 100 per cent revolutionaries, ready at all times to sacrifice and risk their jobs in union activity. This attitude is deep-seated in the union. Not long ago a whole local of the union was expelled and the charter taken away by the district organization because of "inactivity." Our comrades must be made to understand once and for all that while we are a revolutionary union, we can never be a mass union if we restrict our membership to tested revolutionaries. We want every member of the union to be active. We can never achieve this by bureaucratic orders and threats of expulsion. It can only be achieved by carefully

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explaining to our members the need and purpose of the proposed activity, the "why" and the "how" of it, thereby gaining their willing cooperation. Further, while doing our level best to draw every member into some form of union activity we must face the fact that if we are to be a mass union (and particularly when the union has a closed shop) we will inevitably have many passive members in our ranks who will do no more than pay dues and attend occasional meetings.

CONCENTRATION ON LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

The solution of this problem is not an easy one. It involves a fundamental change in our whole methods of work. In the first place *the center of gravity of the work of the top leadership of the union must be shifted from the apparatus to the local organizations*. The national and district leadership of the union must visit the locals mine by mine and there on the spot concretely show the comrades how to deal with the problems which face the miners. Secondly, we must insist that every general and political campaign brought into the local unions comes through the union apparatus in order that the union leadership may introduce these questions in a manner which will tie them up directly with the work of the union inside the mine or among the unemployed. Thirdly, we must carefully regulate the internal life of the locals in order that matters not related directly to the work of the union are not brought wholesale into the local meetings. Fourthly, through more frequent sub-district and district conferences the top leadership must keep in closest touch with the problems and needs of the locals and give them as far as possible personal assistance in the solution of their problems. Finally, we must declare unceasing war on every manifestation of the narrow sectarianism which abounds in the union.

Second reason: *bureaucratic methods of work*. Both a principal cause and effect of this situation is our bureaucratic method of work. The forerunner of our union, the Save-the-Union movement, had as one of its principal slogans the demand for "Democracy in the Union." This was a burning issue in the whole fight inside the United Mine Workers of America, led by the left wing, whose traditions our union has inherited. Yet it must be admitted that today there is almost no real trade union democracy in the National Miners Union. District, sub-district, and local secretaries are shifted from one place to another with complete disregard of the opinion and wishes of the membership.

An example: two people sitting in the National Office decide that for various reasons it will be a good thing to transfer the

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present District Secretary of an important district to the same post in another and more important district. The decision is forthwith carried out. The local organizations in both districts learn of the change only when they receive a letter signed with an unfamiliar name over the title "District Secretary."

Another example: the union decided one month ago to launch a recruitment campaign for 10,000 new members. The decision was originally made by the same narrow group of two or three comrades in the national leadership. Then a letter was sent to members of the National Board stating the proposal and stating further that unless immediate objection was made the preparations for the campaign would start at once. The week following a meeting of the National Board was held which ratified the decision, and without more ado the letters went out to the locals informing them that the campaign was under way. Of course there is no real campaign and it should be obvious that no real campaign can be developed by the issuance of such instructions from the top alone.

The union leadership did not realize that it is necessary to initiate such a campaign from below, that a broad discussion must be organized in the locals on the need and the aims of the campaign. That through this discussion the arbitrary figure of 10,000 new members must be tied up with definite political objectives. That each local must decide on the campaign, set its own quota and relate this quota to the concrete situation in the mine in which it operates. Only when this has been done, only when every member feels that a recruitment campaign is a burning necessity, sees clearly that such a campaign will be a powerful weapon in the organization and leadership of strikes against wage cuts and mass struggles for unemployment relief, will the basis have been created for a successful campaign.

The same situation prevails in most of the local unions. No formal vote is taken on matters of prime importance. Regular and formal elections of new officials are not held. Important decisions are made by one or two leading comrades outside of local meetings, etc. Matters are even worse in the district and sub-district leaderships.

Bureaucracy finds particularly crass expression in the relations of the Party to the union. For example, let us take the election campaign of the Communist Party. No effort has been made to develop a discussion in the lower organs of the union on the political issues involved in the election. No real effort has been made to draw the locals into support of the campaign through a thorough understanding that the Communist Party alone fights for and defends the day-to-day interests of the coal miners. The usual practice is as follows: an org. letter goes out from the Party district to the

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Party Section Committees instructing them, let us say, to have delegates elected to the State Nominating Convention. The Section Committee passes the word on to perhaps one or two Party members in each local union. The Party member comes to the next meeting of the union and out of a clear sky announces that the local must elect a delegate to the Nominating Convention. Because of the attitude that our union is a narrow organization made up of people "close to the Party" our Party member may not think it even necessary to discuss this question in the local meeting at all. He may simply state: "The Section Committee of the Party has informed me that we must elect a delegate to the Party Nominating Convention. I propose that we elect so-and-so." Such actions are by no means unheard of in our union.

How can we fight this bureaucracy which strangles democracy, stifles initiative and prevents the development of new cadres in our union? First of all the leadership nationally and in the districts and sub-districts must be broadened. The present scandalous situation, where we have on the National Board and on the various District Boards as far as I know them, *not one working miner*, must be decisively changed. Secondly, bureaus of the National, District and Sub-district Boards must be elected and must meet regularly, actually function and give leadership to the work. This will mean an end to individual decisions and will create the technical prerequisites for the development of collective work. Thirdly, the provisions of the union's constitution for the election of officers, etc., must be observed.

Finally, we must realize that the presence of well-functioning Communist fractions in all organs of the union from top to bottom will alone be some guarantee of correct Party-union relations and will be able to foster and develop trade union democracy. In the mine locals the question of establishing functioning fractions is the question of insuring proper work by the Party mine nuclei. In the leading committees of the union it is a question of actually setting up fractions which will meet regularly and will thereby be able to give Bolshevik guidance and direction to the work of the committees. Such fractions cannot be established over-night. It is necessary for the national fraction in the union to prepare at once a calendar plan within our capacity to carry out for the speedy formation of the fractions.

CONCRETENESS IN OUR WORK

Third reason: *the top-heavy apparatus*. A contributing cause of these bureaucratic methods of work, of this narrow leadership, of

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this failure to develop initiative from below, is the top-heavy apparatus of paid functionaries. Our union, with an average of less than 500 members paying dues, supports in the principal districts of Central Pennsylvania, Western Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia, a total of eighteen full-time functionaries. Besides these recognized and "official" functionaries there are a host of unemployed and blacklisted miners devoting most of their time to the work of the union and in one way or another looking to the organization for support. Such a staff of functionaries by its very existence leads to bureaucracy and stifles the initiative of the rank and file. It leads to a situation where the rank and file membership refuse to undertake responsible work and demand that more and more of the work be done by paid officials.

Another result of this unhealthy condition is that none of our functionaries receive regular wages and many of them actually go hungry day after day. Obviously no one can do his best work under such conditions. Further, the upkeep of the functionaries swallows a large portion of the union income and seriously cripples other and more necessary expenditures. It is clear that the number of full-time functionaries must be drastically reduced and working and unemployed miners drawn into responsible work in corresponding degree.

Fourth reason: *lack of concreteness in the work.* Our isolation from the masses of miners can never be overcome by drawing up grandiose plans for mass work (most of which are invariably scrapped in the end) nor by general decisions "to make the turn to mass work." *Our isolation can only be overcome by concrete practical work in definite specified mines and among definite specified groups of unemployed miners.* We must make an end once and for all to general plans and decisions beyond our capacity to fulfill. We must apply now in practice the principle of *concentration*—and with the full realization that with our weak forces and organization concentration will mean also its opposite—the partial neglect for the time being of some important areas and fields of work. Hard-plugging, practical work along these lines will alone break down the barriers between the National Miners Union and the masses, will alone overcome once and for all the organizational isolation of our union.

In conclusion it is necessary to deal briefly with the two principal political tendencies which form the basis and the breeding ground in our union for bureaucracy and all forms of sectarianism. The first tendency can be summed up with the words: "Lack of faith in the masses and their readiness and ability to struggle." This opportunist political concept is widespread in the middle leader-

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ship and in the lower ranks of the union. It found expression in Ohio where the National Board carried on a struggle against the determination of the Ohio comrades not to participate in the present strike which has not been finally concluded to this day. It found expression in Western Pennsylvania where, due to the clever maneuvering of the management and the U. M. W. of A., combined with our bad work, the Pittsburgh Terminal Corporation was able to put over a wage cut on July 1 without a strike.

To this same opportunistic lack of faith in the masses must be ascribed the failure of the National Convention of the union, held in March of this year, to raise a clear perspective of developing mass struggles in the coal industry and to sound a clarion call for the organization and leadership of these mass struggles by our union.

The failure of the union to develop and lead any important strikes in the present period, while scores of thousands are on strike under U. M. W. of A. leadership, has created the not entirely unjustified fear in the minds of some comrades that unless our union is able to organize and lead immediately mass strikes and struggles in the more important fields it is in danger of being wiped out. These comrades state: "We must have a strike now. The miners have shown they are ready to fight by the big strikes now going on. All we need to do is to call on the men to come out in almost any mine and they will strike. Then we can spread the strike throughout the whole district and really revive the union."

Theoretically this attitude is a concession to the "theory" of spontaneity. Its practical effect is to minimize and thereby cripple precisely that careful and skillful preparatory work without which a successful strike is impossible. The miners are following the United Mine Workers of America leadership in strikes today primarily because we have not shown them in practice by means of day to day organizational work inside the mines, that we are capable of organizing and leading a mass strike against the coal operators' attacks. This "theory" of strikes at all costs, with or without preparation, can only increase our isolation. It must be ruthlessly smashed.

Uncompromising struggle against the twin deviations of lack of faith in the masses and the "theory" of spontaneous strikes is the political prerequisite without which our fight to overcome the isolation of the National Miners Union from the masses cannot be successful.

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Rapid Upsurge of the Revolutionary People's War in Manchuria

By T. S. S.

BOTH the Chinese and the Japanese newspapers report a rapid increase of the volunteer troops in Manchuria, not however of the troops of General Ma or General Li Tu, but of the anti-Japanese troops organized in such bodies as the "Big Knives," "Red Spears," etc. Since the end of May, Mukden has again become the sphere of activity of partisan troops, and since then has been under martial law. A hard fight is being waged between partisan troops and Japanese troops for the towns of Ashiho and Shwangchenfu, situated not far from Harbin; but since June 12 Harbin itself has been encircled. East Fengtien and East Kirin, on the western bank of the Yal, are already completely in the hands of the insurgent peasants; the trains have ceased running on the South Manchurian railway line, the South and East portions of the Chinese Eastern Railway, on the lines between Honan and Tungpe, Tsitsihar and Keishan, Mukden and Hailung, Hailung and Kirin, Kirin and Tungwan. The Japanese troops in Manchuria, numbering not less than 100,000, are everywhere encountering the resistance of the insurgent peasants. Japanese imperialism is compelled to send reinforcements from Korea and also from Japan against the insurgents.

The Japanese military camarilla thought they would be able, by means of the revolts of the Chinese militarists and of the Hung-Fu-Tse bandits in Manchuria, to provoke the Soviet Union and to occupy Sakhalin opposite Blagovestchensk and Linkiang, at the junction of the Sungari with the Amur, from which it would be possible to commence an attack against the Soviet Union. The Japanese militarists succeeded in accomplishing this last aim at the end of May, after sending the tenth and fourteenth divisions from Shanghai as reinforcements to Manchuria. They then considered the mission of the "insurgents" at an end. But this is where they made a mistake. The Manchurian peasants, goaded to action by the robber war of the Japanese and the annexation action, which converts Manchuria into a Japanese colony, and the provocative

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acts against the Soviet Union, of whom the Chinese workers and peasants are natural allies, rose against the Japanese and offered strong resistance, as recent events prove.

As a result of the Japanese occupation the economic life of Manchuria has been completely ruined; transport by land and water has been brought to a standstill, as a consequence of which the export of Manchuria's staple products has been rendered impossible. This was bound to have disastrous effects for the Manchurian peasantry, who produce exclusively for export. To this there is added the changes in banking, as a result of which the bank notes formerly issued by the provincial banks lost their value, and finally, the confiscation of all the fruitful land for the Japanese colonists. All this caused the Manchurian peasants, although they possess no rifles or ammunition, to revolt against the Japanese. They formed themselves into red partisan troops or joined forces with the rebellious old and new Manchurian troops.

The Harbin correspondent of the *Ta Kung Pao* writes:

> "The peasants who join the organizations such as the 'Red Spears,' 'Big Knives,' etc., are not superstitious as the peasants at the time of the Boxer revolt, or those in the same organizations in China; with their simple knives and spears they proceed against the well armed Japanese in order to seek a revolutionary way out of their situation."

Innumerable groups of insurgent peasants are springing up in the whole of Manchuria. As a result of the fighting enthusiasm of the broad masses of the revolutionary peasants, who are conducting a consistent fight against the Japanese imperialists, they are being joined not only by the soldiers of the defeated troops of General Ma and General Li Tu (when, at the end of May, the Japanese took possession of Sakhalin and Linkiang, they considered the mission of Generals Ma and Li Tu at an end and began to liquidate these troops), but also by the soldiers of the Manchurian troops newly organized by the Japanese. In the Yenki district, on the Korean frontier, a whole army went over to the revolutionary peasants. The number of insurgents in Manchuria is not known at present, but at any rate, it is much larger than the figure of 130,000 given by the League of Nations Commission, for at that time the character of the insurgent troops was to a great part reactionary (the insurrections were for the most part staged by the Japanese) and the revolts were not spread over the whole country as at present. If we pick out the largest bodies of insurgents we can distinguish five big groups:

1. The group under the leadership of Wang Teh Lin. Their

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sphere of operations is the whole of the southeast of the province of Kirin and the territory lying between the south and west lines of the Chinese Eastern Railway. The main forces are concentrated in the neighborhood of Ninguti, in the Yenki district, and in Nungan and Fuju.

2. The group of East Fengtien. Its sphere of activity embraces the railway lines of Dairen-Mukden, Antung-Mukden and Hailung-Mukden.

3. The group operating along the Shanghaikwan-Mukden railway line and on the Jehol-Fengtien frontier.

4. The group on the western line of the Chinese Eastern Railway and along the Hulan-Tungpo and Tsitsihar-Keishan railway lines.

5. The group operating along the River Sungari.

Of these five groups there is no doubt that the first and the second are of a more outspokenly revolutionary character than the remaining three, for they are composed chiefly of peasants who have been ruined by the Japanese robber campaign. Revolutionary peasants comprise 80 per cent of Wang Teh Lin's troops. These two groups also include a considerable number of workers: miners from the coal fields of Muling, Fuchin, from the iron mines of Bin Schifu, lumbermen from North Manchuria and railway workers from all lines in Manchuria. The fourth and fifth groups contain a part of the remnants of General Ma's and General Li Tu's armies. The third group consists for the far greater part of old Manchurian troops and "Hung-Fu-Tse"-bandits, who still today have connections with Chang Hsueh-liang.

It is clear that the insurgent peasantry in Manchuria do not yet possess a uniform revolutionary leadership and that the suspicious counter-revolutionary and venal elements, including landowners, bandits and militarists, have not yet been cleared out. To get rid of the latter and to set up a uniform leadership is the chief task confronting the workers and revolutionary peasants of Manchuria.

The revolutionary national war in Manchuria, which has called forth panic among the Japanese militarists, is only in its first stages. In spite of the primitive weapons, mostly only knives and spears, in spite of their motly composition and in spite of the fact that they are partly still under suspicious and counter-revolutionary leadership, the insurgent peasants make systematic and progressive attacks on the headquarters of the Japanese.

In these circumstances a depressed mood is already to be observed in Japanese military circles in Manchuria. The enthusiastic confidence in a rapid conquest of Manchuria which has been suggested to Japanese soldiers, has already given place to great discontent.

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The American Social Fascists

By M. H. CHILDS

THERE is a prevalent misconception among some workers, and even within the ranks of the Communist Party, that the only distinction between the revolutionary Communist Party and a social fascist party is the question of presenting immediate and minimum demands. That this conception is wrong is quite obvious. When our Party puts forth the revolutionary way out of the crisis, then this way out can assume life only if concretized in the six minimum demands as contained in our Election Platform. The question today in the minds of all workers, especially the millions of unemployed, is the problem of relief and unemployment insurance. Could we organize the masses for a struggle against capitalism if we forget this? Of course not! This means, that if we are to lead the workers in the revolutionary path against capitalism then we must take up the daily demands of the masses, must pick up the political problems facing the bourgeoisie as thrown out by the situation of the crisis and thus mobilize the masses against capitalism.

If we made the distinction between Communists and the social fascists only the question of immediate demands, that would mean that social fascism actually fights for the minimum demands of the working class. However, experience has shown quite definitely that this is not the case. That if the social fascists do put forth any kind of a minimum demand it is only to disintegrate the struggles of the working class, to prevent the struggle from developing to a higher plane where it endangers capitalism.

The program of the Socialist Party is the program of the capitalist way out of the crisis. We have known for a long time that there is a great discrepancy between the phrases of social fascism and its deeds. It is this process of defense of capitalism, at every turn of the road, that earned for the Socialist Party its role as a party of monopoly capitalism. This is not the period of so-called prosperity or "stabilization." Even if social fascism uses blank cartridges to "shoot" at capitalism in order to deceive the masses, it must, however, be very careful at the present time. Even a powder spark can lead to an explosion in a charged atmosphere, and the working class is beginning to take this target very seriously. That is why we must be clear and actually show the workers the only way out of capitalist misery.

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At its National Nominating Convention, the Socialist Party categorically assured the bourgeoisie that it has no cause to doubt its loyalty. By an overwhelming vote the Socialist Party went on record against confiscation of capitalist property. It tried to cover up this treachery with phrases of "transferring of industries, democratic control," etc. In the *New Leader* of June 4th, Mr. Norman Thomas, presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, goes into a defense of this platform and tries to show why confiscation is "harmful."

He writes: "Why not purchase the industries from the bosses at a 'reasonable valuation under present standards.'"

WORKERS "PROPERTY OWNERS"

The Reverend must think very hard. It is no easy task to defend a robber system that stands for misery and hunger to millions of toilers. And here, he resorts to the demagogy of social fascism which is so characteristic; that is, pretending to speak in the name of the masses. Why then, is confiscation inadvisable? Let's listen to Mr. Thomas:

> "Today, however, in spite of the high degree of concentration of wealth, and the high degree of concentration of control in America, millions of workers of all sorts own or *think* (my emphasis, M. C.) they own something. It may be a farm on which they live, a home, an insurance policy, or a savings account."

Therefore, if the workers and farmers "think" they own something, the word confiscation would drive them into the camp of the "big owners." Here the Reverend also proves his spiritual qualities—if you "think" you own something, you own it, he says. Even the most polished and educated agent of imperialism will not convince the hungry unemployed, the propertyless farmers driven off the land, the small depositors and home owners who are daily being expropriated by the bankers, that their interests lie with the "big owners." Nor will they "think" that they "own" that which they never had or that which is being taken away from them.

Like all vulgar economists and apologists of the capitalist class, Norman Thomas must confuse even the meaning of property. Social fascism does this purposely in order to put up a wall of defense to save capitalist property, to apply confiscation to the small property holder in order to save monopolist property. Since the proletariat came into being with the development of the capitalist system, the various agents of the propertied classes tried to confuse this question, to hide the existence of capitalist exploitation. But the

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founders of scientific Socialism, Marx and Engels, have given the answer to this nearly a century ago:

> "Property in its present form is based on the antagonisms of capital and wage labor."

Or again:

> "To be a capitalist is to have not only a purely personal, but a social status in production."

This exposes the confused defense of Mr. Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party who try to speak about property in general, without touching the basic question, *capitalist property*.

The fear of confiscation has been expressed many a time by the bourgeoisie and their agents. That is why Marx and Engels already in the Communist Manifesto place this problem very clearly and sharply.

> "You are horrified at our intention to do away with private property, but in your existing society private property is already done done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths."

And further:

> "In a word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so, that is just what we intend to do."

How was the proletariat to do away with this private property of the bourgeoisie? Even if it may offend Mr. Norman Thomas, and of course hurt the bourgeoisie, the following ringing words were placed in the Communist Manifesto:

> "This cannot be effected except by the means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production."

Social fascism recoils at these words. They have mutilated Marxism and although using Marxian phrases, they try to turn Marx and Engels into liberals.

And here we come to the kernel of the question that separates the Communists from social fascism. How can the proletariat lay hold of the property of the capitalist class?

Marx emphasized that "the proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest this property from the bourgeoisie." Here it becomes a question of a *struggle for political power*. That is why

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the program of the Communist International places the problem in the following way:

> "The victorious proletariat utilizes the conquest of power as a lever of economic revolution. That is, the revolutionary transformation of the property relations of capitalism into relationships of the Socialist mode of production. The starting point of this great economic revolution is the expropriation of the landlords and capitalists, i.e., the conversion of the monopolist property of the bourgeoisie into the property of the proletarian state."

THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL POWER

It means that while mobilizing the working class, we must never forget this struggle for political power, to wrest this power from the bourgeoisie. The Socialist Party is using barrels of ink and other forms of propaganda to confuse the workers in order to save capitalism and its political system. The theory of the "lesser evil" as a defense of bourgeois dictatorship is not only something utilized by European social fascism. American social fascism, like its counterpart in other countries, uses the same methods.

In a recent editorial in the *Milwaukee Leader* the socialists begin to holler "boogy-man"; "mutterings against democracy are heard," they cry; and there is even talk of the establishment of an "oligarchy" and "dictatorship," as if the Wall Street government is not the dictatorship of the financial oligarchy.

"If carried into practice, it would mean despotism and reaction."

This was written at the time the unemployed were shot down in St. Louis, and the miners were bombed and shot in Ohio.

Don't disturb the bourgeois dictatorship, says the spirit of Berger —the *Milwaukee Leader.*

"For, political democracy can be used for the purpose of making changes in a peaceful manner. And it can be expanded into industrial democracy."

In line with their policy to safeguard the bourgeois system of exploitation and property, the social fascist editorial continues:

"Political democracy—the vote—will bring industrial democracy if rightly used."

Do not struggle to attain political power, say the social fascists. Why?

"Past attainment and future welfare are at stake."

What past attainment and welfare, may we ask? Is it the fifteen million unemployed workers whom the Wall Street government refuses to give any relief? It is clear that what the social fascists mean is the welfare of capitalism, exploitation, and oppression.

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This theory of the "lesser evil" is connected with the propaganda of the "peaceful building of socialism."

We must keep in mind that social fascism operates in two ways: one, in open collaboration with the bourgeoisie—another, by shouting "left" phrases and pretending to stand for the working class.

Why is it that the Socialist Party of Milwaukee County raises some problems that might create the impression that they are for the abolition of capitalism and not for such "petty" things as relief for the unemployed? In Milwaukee County, as well as in the city of Milwaukee, the socialists are in power, carrying out the orders of the bosses. There, any struggle against the bourgeoisie, even for the most modest demand, is, at the same time, an exposure and a fight against the defenders of capitalism—the Socialist Party.

They understand well enough the meaning of the struggle for minimum demands—that this mobilizes and organizes the workers for struggle on a higher plane, that it politicalizes the working-class. And, in order to behead and to stem this movement, they begin to play with revolutionary phrases—begin to put forth all kinds of proposals to counteract the fight for immediate demands. In its recent state convention, the Socialist Party in Wisconsin adopted the following plank:

> "We advocate an emergency commodity production and exchange department so that unemployed workers may use the idle factories to produce essential commodities to be exchanged with other workers similarly produced commodities on a no-profit basis."

And the spokesmen of the Socialist Party, like Minkely, Sheriff Benson, and others, come out with the following:

> "We want to warn the capitalists that we may not be able to hold back the mob, for people will not go without food and clothing for any length of time. That while Hoover's prosperity is just around the right corner—bloody revolution is just around the left corner."

And what does the Socialist Party propose?

> "We propose that the community (not working class, M. C.) take over temporary control of essential factories, bakeries, mills, that are now closed or run on a skeleton schedule and to man them with groups of workers who agree to work not for monetary remuneration, but to exchange the results of their labor for their needs by a system of so-called labor checks or some other arrangement enabling them to expend same through a central warehouse or exchange, as may be worked out."
>
> "This would be the logical way to establish a present security of the working class in the face of the ever-deepening depression."

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And how do the Socialists propose to accomplish this thing? Possibly through struggle? Or revolution? Not at all. They do not depart from their traditional policy as the bulwark of capitalism—as the would-be saviour of capitalism. They state:

> "That this plan calls for a spirit of cooperation on the part of the owners of the idle factories and other establishments."

And further:

> "It will be our duty to apply to the governor of the state to commandeer such work places for a stated term of years."

If we forgot the post-war development of opportunism into social chauvinism and later into social fascism we might look upon these vicious proposals as some innocent utopian schemes, not realistic, nevertheless sincere, as, let us say, proposals of "mutualism" as put forth by Proudhon, or Utopian socialists nearly a century ago. But, we cannot allow this proposal to be separated from actual day to day activity of social fascism in behalf of capitalism. In the city of Milwaukee, social fascism is charged with the administration of the state power for the bourgeoisie and has shown that it is a loyal lackey of capitalism for the last 18 years.

There, just as in other sections of the United States, today the bosses are attempting to cut down the miserable relief given to the unemployed, trying to drive down this already low level of existence still further. The capitalist class and their agents sit night and day planning schemes as to how to make even the unemployed pay for this miserable relief—to lighten the "burdens" of the ruling class. Forced labor is one of these ways. In Milwaukee, forced labor is covered up with a "socialist" garnish, for did not Metcalfe—candidate for governor on the Socialist Party ticket — introduce this scheme? Yes, the Socialist Party says it's for the slogan that "he who does not work shall not eat"—that is why workers who refuse forced labor jobs get 90 days' jail on the charge of vagrancy.

THE LIVING EXAMPLE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAY OUT

Here is where we must bring forth the Soviet Union as the living example of the revolutionary way out of the crisis. We must explain to the workers how the Russian proletariat captured power, established its own dictatorship, abolished capitalist exploitation and unemployment, and is now successfully building Socialism. *We must emphasize this and point out to the American working class that this is the only way.*

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Then, we must explain and bring to the workers the Communist program of confiscation. We have to expose the lies of the Socialist Party and Mr. Thomas in regard to the expropriation of the small owners. The program of the Communist International outlines this question very clearly. When the proletariat takes power it carries out a program of:

> "The confiscation and proletarian nationalization of all large private capitalist undertakings, factories, works, mines, electric power stations, etc."

The program of the Communists does not merely stop at the confiscation of industries, railroads and banks, but also places the following:

> "The conversion and proletarian nationalization of all large landed estates in town and country."

While the Communists propose to confiscate the land of the big land owners, at the same time, our program states:

> "Part of the land confiscated from the landlords and others, particularly where the land was cultivated by the peasants on a tenant basis and served as a means of holding the peasantry in economic bondage,—to be transformed to the use of the peasantry (to the poor and partly to the middle strata of peasantry)."

This is very applicable today in the United States, where the farmers are being driven off the land, where nearly 40 per cent of the farmers are tenants, and where, in the South especially, the Negro peasantry lives under semi-slave conditions, is held in economic and political bondage, by the big landowners. The Communist program draws a distinction between the small producers working for themselves, who will gradually be drawn into Socialist construction, and the exploiters. And that is why in the program of the Communist International, we state:

> "These small individual enterprises will be drawn into general socialization of industry and distribution only gradually, with the powerful and systematic aid of the proletarian state will render to organize them in all the various forms of collective enterprises."

The collective farms and the artisan cartels in the Soviet Union illustrate this.

Therefore, the question of the establishment of a Socialist society is not conceivable without first wresting political power from the hands of the capitalist class. Social fascism comes out in open opposition to the workingclass struggles for political power. Already, in

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the beginning of this century, Comrade Lenin showed the gap between reformism and revolutionary Socialism, when he wrote against the Mensheviks, Economists, and other petty bourgeois Socialists:

> "Liberalism is prepared to recognize the class struggle in the sphere of politics, also, but on one condition that the organization of state power shall not be included in its sphere. It is not difficult to understand what class interests of the bourgeoisie gives rise to this liberal distortion of the interpretation of the class struggle."

Lenin emphasized this point when he stated:

> "We can speak of general working class politics when it not only emphasizes politics, but when in politics it takes the most important point, the organization of state power."

When the ruling class nods its head in praise, there is a reason for it. That is why the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, one of the most conservative capitalist papers in Wisconsin, controlled by Paul Block, boy friend and angel of Jimmy Walker, said the following at the time of the Socialist Party Convention in Milwaukee:

> "Even in these parlous times the Socialists voted to take over American leading industries, not by confiscation, not by taxation. The voted to take them and pay for them. They voted against confiscation."

The bourgeoisie recognizes its lackeys when they say, "the Socialists play politics, but you usually know where they stand"—(for the defense of capitalism, M. C.).

Yes, the lackies know their relation to their masters, and the masters recognize this.

It is our task to expose before the masses the program of social fascism and convince the workers that it is a capitalist program. That the only way out of this crisis is the revolutionary way out, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

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The Growth of the Revolutionary Upsurge in the Caribbean

By O. RODRIGUEZ

AN OUTSTANDING characteristic of the present situation in the Caribbean countries is the rise and development of strike movements among the workers and of various forms of peasant struggles. This is taking place in Mexico, Cuba, Colombia, Costa Rica, Honduras, etc. These movements do not develop evenly in each of these countries. In Mexico, for instance, they are growing at a more rapid rate than elsewhere. In Colombia the peasant movements seem to predominate over the strike movements among the workers. And, in general, it will be seen that the rising mass movements in each country have certain characteristics that are peculiar to each individual country. But nearly everywhere in the Caribbean the revolutionary upsurge of the masses is rising, expressing itself in the growth of strike movements among the workers and of peasant movements in the villages.

These developments have accentuated stronger than heretofore the lagging behind of the Communist Parties and of the revolutionary unions. In Mexico we find the following situation: that most of the strikes among the agricultural workers, which were very numerous among this basic section of the Mexican proletariat, took place without any effective interference by the revolutionary unions. Most of these strikes developed spontaneously and in some few instances the reformist leaders got hold of them and betrayed them. The big strikes on the railroads, tramways, and of the telephone employees, which broke out despite the fascist labor law and the opposition of the reformist leaders, remained under the hegemony of these reformist leaders, who maneuvered very skillfully to demoralize and break up these struggles after they had broken out. The revolutionary opposition in the reformist union of the railwaymen did not succeed in unmasking the social-fascist leaders and in winning the masses for a united front from below under independent revolutionary leadership. This resulted primarily from the fact that very little mass work has been carried on among workers in the reformist unions and whatever work was carried on, it was deeply tinged with trade union legalism and "left" sectarianism.

However the above does not present a complete picture of the

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situation in Mexico. A number of important strikes took place in recent months that were organized and led by the Communists, such as the textile strike in San Bruno, the metal workers' strike in Monterey, and several more important struggles. Some of these strikes were either fully or partially won. But the greatest significance of these struggles lies in the fact that a somewhat new form of struggle is being developed, the form of strikes with "folded arms" (stopping work but remaining in the factories), which seems to have a wide appeal to the masses. If this form of struggle is properly understood and utilized, that is, as an elementary form of struggle to be raised to higher and more active forms, the revolutionary unions and the Communist Party have now a splendid opportunity to establish their leadership in wide and numerous struggles of the Mexican proletariat.

The lagging behind the growing upsurge is showing itself in all countries of the Caribbean, not only among the workers but also among the peasants. In Cuba we see deep fermentation going on among the workers and peasants, but as yet very little organized mass struggles under our leadership. One of the most important strikes this year, the strike of the tobacco workers organized in the reformist union of the *Torcedores*, is being betrayed daily and driven to defeat by the reformist leaders without the revolutionary militants being able to organize the masses for effective resistance against this treachery. The sore spot here is lack of systematic and persistent revolutionary mass work in this important reformist union, on the one hand, and right opportunist refusal to fight the reformist leaders, on the other hand. More important still is total insufficiency of mass work among the sugar workers, although certain significant beginnings have been made. And among the peasants in the countryside a serious beginning is yet to be made. To a smaller or larger degree (in Colombia, to a larger degree) this woeful lagging behind is true also of the other countries in the Caribbean.

THE GROWING INSTABILITY OF THE EXISTING REGIMES

For a fuller understanding of the dangers contained in this lagging behind we must take into consideration the fact that the existing bourgeois-landlord-imperialist regimes in the Caribbean countries are becoming ever more unstable. This arises from the fact that the developing mass movements (economic strikes of the workers, struggles of the peasants against taxation and for land, etc.) are taking place in the surroundings of a general sharpening of *all the contradictions* of the bourgeois-landlord-imperialist regimes in the Caribbean countries, due to the further deepening of the world economic

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crisis and to the fact that the period of partial stabilization of capitalism has come to an end and that we are approaching a new period of wars and revolutions.

This results, among other things, in an extreme sharpening of the contradictions between the interests of the Caribbean countries as semi-colonial countries and the interests of foreign imperialism, especially the dominating Yankee imperialism. As a consequence, we observe a rapid growth of anti-imperialist sentiments and movements (anti-Yankee) among the workers and peasants and also among the city petty-bourgeoisie. The questions of foreign debts, payment of interest on these debts, the question of tariffs, militarization of the Caribbean, all of which impose terrific new burdens upon the Caribbean countries and especially the toiling masses, are reaching great acuteness.

The above results also in a greater sharpening of the contradictions between the various bourgeois and landlord factions in each Caribbean country intensified manifold by the sharpening rivalries between Yankee and British imperialism. The "gentlemen's agreement" between France and England on the war debts, and the present British Empire Conference in Ottawa, whatever its outcome, will still further deepen the antagonisms between the Yankee and British imperialist robbers, thus aggravating more the contradictions between the various bourgeois and landlord factions.

As a consequence of all this we see the growing instability of the existing bourgeois-landlord governments. More frequently than heretofore *coup d'etats* are taking place, especially in South America where the rivalries between British and Yankee imperialism are more active and acute than in the Caribbean, the latter region being more predominantly under Yankee control. Numerous so-called "revolutions" of one bourgeois-landlord faction against another are either impending or actually in progress throughout Latin America. With this relatively new characteristic, these bourgeois-landlord factions are everywhere trying to exploit for their counter-revolutionary purposes the growing revolutionary upsurges of the masses (which is growing despite these factions and against them) resorting to the wildest fascist demagogy, on the one hand, and to the most brutal white terror against the revolutionary movements of the masses, on the other hand, most especially against the Communist Parties.

This particular feature of the situation requires a few additional remarks. The first wave of bourgeois-landlord *coup d'etats* that swept over Latin America, as an immediate result of the world economic crisis, was characterized by the fact that the masses involved in them were relatively small in numbers. The governmental

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changes that took place were more in the nature of "palace revolutions" carried out on top with great rapidity. However, in the succeeding waves of *coup d'etats* (and there were several) the situation became much more complicated, due primarily to the growth of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses (workers, peasants, petty-bourgeoisie) and the spreading influence of the Communist Parties. This new development, which is one of the most powerful factors in undermining the shaky stability of the existing governments, introduced certain new characteristics to the succeeding waves of *coup d'etats*. In some instances bourgeois-landlord oppositions actually rode into power on the crest of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses. The most outstanding example was Chile—the overthrow of Ibanez and the coming of Montero as well as the overthrow of Montero and the coming of Davila. Similar developments, in various degrees, are to be seen everywhere in Latin America. It is in the light of these developments that we can understand the veritable debauch of fascist demagogy with which the latest *coup d'etats* are being accomplished as well as the ever-growing white terror against the revolutionary organizations of the workers and peasants, especially the Communist Parties.

What we are confronted with here is the following. The various bourgeois-landlord factions, seeing the growing revolutionary upsurge of the masses and the spreading influence of the Communist Parties taking place despite of them and against them, are trying to exploit this upsurge for their counter-revolutionary ends, in the struggle against one another. For this purpose they develop all sorts of "socialist," "anti-imperialist" and other demagogy to confuse and befuddle the masses, also taking measures to create for themselves social bases among the peasants, city petty-bourgeoisie, and even among the workers, at the same time carrying on the wildest terror against the revolutionary organizations of the masses. Thus, while the latest *coup d'etats* retain fully their bourgeois-landlord class character, marking merely a shift of power and regrouping of forces within the camp of the exploiting classes, the methods and forms of the *coup d'etats* are undergoing changes in the direction characteristic of fascism.

Mexico offers some fresh evidence of this in the growing activity of the so-called "lefts" of the ruling National Revolutionary Party (Tejeda and Company). We refer here especially to the "expropriation" laws passed in the states of Vera Cruz and Hidalgo, both of which are ruled by "left" governors. These laws in effect mean an effort to salvage bankrupt capitalist enterprises with the funds of the government squeezed out from the masses. The "cooperative" feature attached to it (the "expropriated" factories were given

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to the workers to be operated as a cooperative) are nothing else but a swindle to secure the consent of the workers to accept without struggle wage-cuts, lay-offs, lengthening of hours, etc., which the workers were unwilling to accept before the "expropriation." But this new maneuver of unloading upon the workers the full weight of salvaging bankrupt capitalist enterprises is brought forward as a "Socialist" measure and by the "left" demagogs of the Calles-Ortiz Rubio clique. This same "left" Tejeda, governor of Vera Cruz, is the most brutal persecutor of the workers and peasants and their revolutionary organizations. It goes without saying that the social-fascist leaders have accepted this new fascist swindle and are assisting the government to put it over on the workers.

Something of the same character we observe in Cuba. There the bourgeois opposition has given birth to a "left" group, the leaders of the so-called A. B. C. This "left" wing of the bourgeois oppositions has begun to operate with certain mass slogans, such as the proposal for the establishment of "workers' cooperatives," "distribution of state lands to the peasants," etc. This is something new because up until very recently the only important slogan of the bourgeois opposition, including its "lefts," was the one calling for the resignation of Machado. In preparation of the latest uprising, scheduled for July but not yet materialized, the "left" section of the bourgeois opposition was trying to penetrate masses of peasants and certain sections of the workers with the help of these new slogans. What are these slogans? Essentially, fascist demagogy. The proposal for "workers' cooperatives" under the existing conditions means either nothing or else some such swindle as the one perpetrated in Mexico by Tejeda. The distribution of "state lands," which the pauperized peasants are expected to buy and therefore can bring no relief to the toiling peasantry, is another bourgeois-landlord trick to fool the masses. At the same time, numbers of workers and peasants are to be found among the rank and file of the A. B. C. which, with a correct policy, we can win over to the revolutionary struggle under our leadership.

If, in addition to the above, we consider that the revolutionary trade union movement in the Caribbean and the peasant leagues have not yet become powerful mass organizations and that the Communist Parties (notwithstanding the progress that they are making) are still seriously lagging behind, especially in the organization and leadership of the daily struggles of the masses for their partial demands, then we must reckon with the following possibilities. Large mass movements (in some places—armed movements), especially among the peasants and city petty-bourgeoisie, but involving also certain sections of workers, may break out spontaneously and inde-

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pendently of us, headed by one or another variety of petty-bourgeois chieftains. Also that the bourgeois and landlord demagogs will try to exploit these movements (in *coup d'etats*, etc.) for their counter-revolutionary and fascist purposes. The possibility of such developments is imminent in most countries of the Caribbean as well as in South America.

CONCLUSIONS

The first conclusion that we must draw from this analysis is the utmost intensification in the unfolding of the daily struggles of the workers and peasants for their immediate economic and other demands (strike movements, unemployed struggles, peasant movements, etc.), building the revolutionary trade union movement, the peasant leagues, the unemployed committees, the Communist Parties into genuine mass organizations, linking up these fights with the anti-war struggle. Special and concentrated attention must be given to the organization and spreading out of the economic strike struggles of the workers, especially in the imperialist enterprises and plantations, as well as to the organization of the peasants (for the cancellation of their debts and abolition of taxation), developing these struggles into mass refusals to pay taxes, mass resistance to eviction from the land and for a revolutionary struggle for land, increasing manifold the organization of the struggles of the unemployed. This is the *main road* towards combatting the offensive of the exploiters, towards winning the masses for the revolutionary way out of the crisis and war, towards overcoming the lagging behind the revolutionary upsurge.

The second conclusion is the need of more skilfully and systematically politicalizing these struggles, raising them to higher levels, linking them up with the fight against the white terror and for the elementary political rights of the workers and peasants. More than ever before we must widely popularize our anti-imperialist slogans and demands, bringing into central prominence the demand for the withdrawal of all imperialist forces from Caribbean countries, the abolition of all imperialist control and supervision, the repudiation of all government foreign debts, linking these up with the basic demands of the agrarian anti-imperialist revolution and undertaking to organize a wide anti-imperialist movement of the workers, peasants and city poor under the hegemony of the working class.

The third conclusion is the absolute impermissibility for the Communist Parties to remain "neutral" or passive to the mass movements break out independently of us or even under the leadership of petty- (armed or otherwise) that have a revolutionary character and that

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bourgeois elements which bourgeois demagogs and "oppositions" are trying to exploit for counter-revolutionary purposes. In all such movements of peasants, workers and city petty-bourgeoisie that are directed against the landlords, capitalists and foreign imperialism, we must actively participate, clarifying the toiling masses on the revolutionary aims of the struggle, fighting also from within these movements for the hegemony of the working class and the leadership of the Communist Party. To accomplish this aim, the Communist Parties must under all circumstances maintain their political and organizational independence, fighting to win the masses for their program, systematically criticizing the vacillations and inconsistencies of the petty-bourgeois leaders that may be at the head of such movements and waging a merciless struggle against the bourgeois landlord demagogs, allies of foreign imperialism, that are trying to exploit these movements for counter-revolutionary and fascist ends.

In doing so we must combat without mercy all "left" sectarian opportunist tendencies to drag the movement into *putchist* adventures (*coup d'etats* for the "seizure of power") as well as all right opportunist tendencies—the chief danger—to remain passive or to subordinate the Communist Party in any way to the policies of petty-bourgeois chieftains or bourgeois "oppositions." Our main aim in participating in these struggles is to direct them against the offensive of the exploiters, to widen and deepen the movement, to win the majority of the workers and the toiling peasants for the revolutionary way out of the crisis and war, to establish Communist leadership, and to build up the revolutionary organization and power of the masses. In this way we shall be organizing the agrarian anti-imperialist revolution in the Caribbean. In this way we will create the necessary subjective factors which, with the maturing of the objective factors, will place before the Communist Parties as a practical task the organization of the armed struggle for the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government.

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Some Problems of Agit-Prop Work and Our Election Campaign

By SAM DON

THE essence of the Leninist conception of agitation is *concreteness* and *simplicity*—a concreteness and simplicity which does not stand isolated, but rests on a proper understanding of the background of events and their perspectives. Propaganda, therefore, must be closely related to our agitation and in a still broader sense, our agitators must have an understanding of the political line of the Party and the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism.

What do we mean by concreteness and simplicity? Is it merely a recitation of facts and the use of very simple language? Certainly facts and simple language are very important. The key understanding, however, is that our *concreteness must be based on the actual life, conditions, moods and thoughts of the masses*—to learn all the facts of the class struggle, not merely through facts by way of statistics and statements, but above all, by establishing "solid personal contacts with the workers" (Fourteenth Plenum Resolution).

In connection with our present election campaign it is well to recall and grasp every shading of the following words of Lenin:

> "Communists should penetrate into the humblest taverns, should find their way into the unions, social and chance gatherings of the common people and talk with them *not learnedly*, not so much after a parliamentary fashion." (Emphasis mine—S. D.)—*Left Wing Communism—An Infantile Disorder.*

How should we speak, how should we write in this election campaign? Again let us consult Lenin. In the thesis on the Communist Party and Parliamentarism, written by him and adopted at the Second Congress of the Communist International, we read:

> "The Communist members must speak in parliament in such a way as to be understood by every working man, peasant, washer-woman, shepherd, so that the Party may publish his speeches and distribute them to the most remote villages of the country."

Indeed, the standard set here by Comrade Lenin must become the ambition of all of us.

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In this article we will deal with some of the problems of agit-prop work in connection with our election campaign. Our discussion is based primarily on an examination of the various leaflets on the elections.

What strikes one first of all in reading through our leaflets coming from all parts of the country, is their "uniformity" and "similarity." They all might have been issued in the national office for national distribution. In a nutshell, they lack local background and color. Of course, we are in the midst of a presidential election campaign where national issues are the decisive ones, but these must be in the closest manner linked up with a discussion of the local conditions. Then again, practically all of the districts have issued one or two election leaflets. There must be a variety of election leaflets, particularly such leaflets which show a quick response and reaction to the local conditions, to various statements of local demagogs and politicians, etc.

The entire Party, from top to bottom, has not yet earnestly taken up what the Fourteenth Plenum suggests in its resolution, namely that:

> "Throughout the campaign every statement and every proposal of the enemy parties must be quickly answered in the Party press and in millions of leaflets."

The united front from below must be the key approach in our election campaign and of course this should reflect itself in our agitation. The election platform is headed by the following:

> "For Working Class Unity in the Election Campaign! Against the Hunger and War Offensive of the Capitalists! For the Workers' Ticket—Candidates of the Communist Party—Against the Candidates of the Bosses!"

The note struck here is working class unity. The slogan for the Workers' Ticket does not appear accidentally; it is in line with our united front approach. Yet in all of the leaflets which we have on hand, none mention the above slogans, particularly for the "Workers' Ticket." The absence of this united front approach is reflected in the content, form and style of our leaflets. We speak too much as a Party "for the workers," and not "of the workers" (Fourteenth Plenum Resolution).

The six main demands are printed in most of the leaflets, although not in all of them, but of course this is by no means sufficient. Practically none of our leaflets in the text explain the meaning of our slogan "Unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the state and employers." We take it for granted

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that the workers will accept it and agree with it by merely mentioning it. The leaflet which comes nearest to an explanation is one from New Bedford, Mass., which says "The Communist Party takes a part in this election campaign, carrying on a struggle for unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the government and employers." It insists on the fact that "those who are responsible for wrecking the mills, those responsible for unemployment—the mill owners and their government, shall pay for this crisis. If they will not provide work, they must provide us with unemployment insurance."

Take for instance the call for the Pennsylvania State Nominating Convention. There we do not even find the slightest mention of our first central demand of unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the government and the employers. It is not mentioned either in the text or at the bottom of the leaflet. The call speaks for "Bread and Jobs." Of course there is nothing wrong with that, but to substitute it for our first central slogan and to eliminate completely our first central slogan is a *very serious opportunist error.*

The leaflet issued by the Workers International Relief and the National Miners Union in the Kentucky and Tennessee Districts, also improved on the first central slogan; they "simplified" it a little bit in the following fashion: "Fight for relief at the expense of the operators and their government."

Our fight against Pinchot in Pennsylvania is important. There is no serious attempt in the Pennsylvania call to expose the various relief measures of Pinchot, and it merely confines itself to the statement "Pinchot talks of unemployment relief and taxing the rich, but this is all he does."

An opportunist error of omission is the complete silence with which the Pennsylvania call passes over the existence of Father Cox.

What we state of the Pennsylvania call for the Nominating Convention in its attempt to expose Pinchot also holds good for the Reading leaflet. The Reading leaflet also brings out a weakness in relation to our slogan for the defense of the Soviet Union which is true of practically all of the other election leaflets—namely, it says: "at the same time it (imperialism) is desperately driving toward imperialist war, *especially against* the Soviet Union." (Our emphasis.) Why, may a worker ask, "especially against the Soviet Union"? And if we would read through the leaflet there would be no answer. No mention of the fact that unemployment has been liquidated in the Soviet Union, not even a slight men-

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tion and contrast of the condition in the Soviet Union and that of the United States.

Our leaflets in a general way speak about war. It is not concretized and hardly any leaflet takes up concretely the question of pacifism, both the official pacifism of the government and the various pacifist organizations and the Socialist Party. The most striking omission in connection with the war danger is complete silence in all leaflets regarding the bonus march. We take the opportunity in connection with this point to bring out the very serious underestimation of the political significance of the bonus march by the Party.

A number of our leaflets because of "lack of space" even "economize" on our six main demands. For instance, Kansas City decided only to print our first, fourth and sixth demands. We are certainly more than tempted to ask, why is the second demand, "Against Hoover's wage-cutting policy" left out, the third demand, "For the farmers" (there of all places!), and the fifth demand, "Against capitalist terror, against all forms of suppression of the political rights of the workers." It should also be noted that in practically all of the leaflets, while unemployment is spoken of, the question of wage cuts and to an extent the fight against the stagger system is completely left out. In other cities like Chicago and Lawrence, leaflets were issued where only five of the six demands were printed, and the one on the farmers left out. Is the problem of the farmers of no concern to city workers? It is obvious that this is wrong.

Our leaflets once more emphasize the fact that the Party as yet does not fully grasp the national aspect in our struggle for Negro rights. It is very interesting to note that our election leaflets deal with the Negro question primarily in connection with our fifth demand, "Against capitalist terror," and do not tackle the Negro question in connection with our fourth demand, "Equal rights for the Negroes and self-determination for the Black Belt." Many leaflets do not even speak about Jim-Crowism, and merely confine themselves to the question of terror against the Negro masses in conjunction with the *general* terror against the toiling masses. The most serious mistake was committed by our Tennessee Party organization in a long leaflet for its State Nominating Convention. Under a misleading headline "Republicans and Democrats try to buy Negroes," we read: "The Communist Party is the only Party that fights for unconditional equal rights for Negroes, economic, political and social"—not one word regarding our demand for self-determination for the Black Belt! And this in Tennessee!

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The Fourteenth Plenum Resolution states:

> "The sharpest struggle against social fascism during the elections is of the greatest importance. Without detracting the attention to the slightest degree from the struggle against the Republicans and Democrats as pointed out above, the *chief attention* must be directed to unmasking and combatting the Socialists and the Muste group."

Our leaflets certainly do not indicate that the *chief attention* is directed in unmasking and combatting the social fascists, and when it is done, it is carried through in a clumsy mechanical manner as, for instance, in a mimeographed leaflet issued by the Lawrence section in District 1. It reads as follows:

> "The Republican, Democratic and Socialist Parties are competing with each other and inside their own ranks cannot agree on exactly what kind of pill to feed the workers to keep them from fighting against wage cuts and unemployment."

Then, of course, there is always the formula-like mention of the fact that the Socialist Party is a third party of capitalism, without any attempt to explain what we mean by it.

The main sinner in this respect is the Reading leaflet. As we know there, was a Socialist administration in Reading, with the Socialist Party still holding many offices. The Reading leaflet, however, has nothing to say about the *practices* and *actions* of the Reading Socialist administration and Socialist Party which would really prove to the workers that the Socialist Party, as the leaflet says, "is the third party of capitalism."

The actions of the Socialist Party, particularly in Wisconsin and Reading, their statements, must be continually taken up in order to really be able to convince the workers that the Socialist Party is the third party of capitalism.

A few remarks as to the language in the leaflets. There is quite a bit of general phrase-mongering, even "philosophical" language. For instance, a leaflet issued by the Detroit League of Struggle for Negro Rights has the following expression: "The future is dark and hopeless." The already mentioned leaflet of the Workers International Relief and National Miners Union has a slogan "Cowards Starve, Men Fight." This slogan smells very much of a college intellectual journalism.

Just a few gems of "simple" language. A Buffalo leaflet writes: "mass misery, etc., is the fate of the workers in all cities whether *dominated* by Republican, Democratic or Socialist administration."

We have a feeling that simpler words could be found for expressing the thought of domination.

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The same leaflet in pointing out the fact that Negro workers are first fired and white workers may be hired, then again Negro workers may be hired, etc., is put in fine thesis language in the following manner: "this process is repeated."

A quite lengthy leaflet issued by District 19 (Colorado) states: "The Industrial Workers of the World in its policy of 'against the strike now,' *objectively* serves to extend its aid to the coal operators in their wage-cutting drive."

First, even before we take up the question of language, the Industrial Workers of the World is not only objectively, but also subjectively against strikes, but what miner in the Colorado fields will know what we mean when we say that the I. W. W. is *objectively* against the strike? More care should be taken in the use of words and formulation of sentences.

Without going into a detailed discussion, we wish merely to raise the question of our propaganda for the revolutionary way out of the crisis. The capitalist parties, the social fascists, make attempts to give "fundamental" explanations and solutions for the present crisis. The workers are anxious to learn what are the programs that will point a way out of the present crisis. We cannot and we must not neglect our agitation propaganda for the revolutionary way out of the crisis. How shall this be done? The Plenum Resolution gives a clear answer:

> "Placing in the center of the mass election work the immediate demands of the workers and toilers in factories, bread lines, unemployed gatherings, in towns, the Party must on this basis *present concretely* and *popularly* to the broad working masses its program of the revolutionary way out of the crisis. In exposing the whole policy of the bourgeoisie, the Party must make clear to the workers that only through the revolutionary class struggle, fighting for the program and supporting the candidates of the Communist Party, can workers counteract the attacks of the bourgeoisie and protect and secure their immediate demands and prepare the ground for the further advance of the working class interests."

Unexpressed and unshaped tendencies and opinions exist to the effect that if we wish to be concrete, we cannot deal with the revolutionary way out of the crisis, and if we wish to deal with the revolutionary way out of the crisis we cannot be concrete. Here too, the Plenum Resolution clearly indicates the method when it says:

> "The revolutionary way out of the crisis must be concretized by showing the masses how a revolutionary workers' government, a United Soviet States of America, would through the nationalization of the means of production, railways, commerce, etc., by tak-

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> ing them from the hands of the big exploiters and placing them in the hands of the workers' state, immediately eliminate unemployment by starting the machinery of production at full speed, producing the commodities needed by the masses; how it can at once make available to the starving workers the full stores of foodstuffs, fuel and clothing now withheld from the workers; how it can solve the pressing problems of housing, solve the needs of the toiling farmers, guarantee full equality for the Negroes, carry out a peace policy of the proletarian state, as exampled by the Soviet Union in contrast to all imperialist powers, etc."

Thus we see that while placing in the center our struggles for immediate demands, we must also raise the question of the revolutionary way out of the crisis, and raise it in such a manner which will show to the workers the revolutionary way out of the crisis as a concrete solution for the present-day evils and grievances growing out of the capitalist system.

We have adopted in this article the method of raising questions of agitation in our election campaign on the basis of the concrete examination of our leaflets. What we have said with regard to various mistakes and shortcomings of the leaflets also holds true generally for all of the phases of agitation and propaganda in our election campaign.

We cannot fight the capitalist system by representing it merely as an "impersonal" evil. The capitalist system should be more "personified." One cannot fight the capitalist system without fighting the capitalists, the exploiters. More burning indignation in our agitation! Less of the half-baked intellectual "objectiveness." The capitalists are responsible for the crisis, the capitalists are responsible for the growing starvation through the land. And our agitation should be permeated with this consciousness.

We spoke above about the need of learning to know the moods and thoughts of the masses. Is it not a fact that entirely too often we dismiss the opinion of the workers with the saying, "Oh, he is backward" and "He is influenced by bourgeois propaganda"? Of course the workers are influenced by bourgeois propaganda, and it is precisely our task to free the workers from the influence of the bourgeois press. The idea that to vote Communist is to waste one's vote, that the Communists are O. K., but in the elections we will vote for a "good man," must receive our careful attention and answer in a very detailed and conscientious manner. The degree of our success in the election campaign also depends on how well we will dispel such ideas in the minds of the workers.

We must struggle to convince the workers that we are correct. A mere belief in the righteousness of our cause will not convert the workers to our ideas. The weakness of all of our leaflets

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is the fact that we take too much for granted. We must over and over again explain our main demands. Special leaflets should be issued giving a thorough explanation of one of our demands and linking it up with our major demands and issues. Above all, more local leaflets dealing with the conditions, struggles and issues in a given locality.

So far we may say that our agitation in the election campaign was mainly confined to leaflets and to the big election meetings with Comrades Foster and Ford. We certainly must widen out our agit-prop activities in this campaign and this must be done on the basis of the Fourteenth Plenum Resolution which states:

> "The Communist Party itself should organize thousands of meetings, great city-wide meetings as heretofore, neighborhood meetings and especially small meetings in the workers' homes where our program should be explained and the workers drawn into active participation in our election campaign. Leaflets of many kinds, posters, dealing with the proposals of the enemy parties, with the conditions of the workers in the various industries, with our demands, etc., should be issued in larger quantities than ever before. Pamphlets to be sold at the lowest prices."

In conclusion we merely want to raise the very important problem of developing more political clarity on the importance of the election campaign this year, and the question of revolutionary parliamentarism. The election campaign section in the Fourteenth Plenum Resolution must be studied over and over again. This issue of *The Communist* carries a reprint from Comrade Lenin's article on *"Left" Communism—An Infantile Disorder*, "Should Communists Participate in Bourgeois Parliaments?" This article should be read and studied. Our Party has not yet overcome completely in practice anti-parliamentarian tendencies.

The success of our election campaign depends on how well the Party will grasp the significance of the following statement in the Fourteenth Plenum Resolution:

> "The election campaign this year is of most particular significance and must be utilized for the general extension and intensification of the activity of the Party and for the intensification and widening of class struggles against the capitalist offensive and the war danger, especially against the danger of intervention against the U. S. S. R."

The above statement from the Plenum Resolution must be always borne in mind in order to develop a real tempo, hard work and devotion for the carrying out of a successful election campaign.

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The Training of New Cadres and Our School System

By A. MARKOFF

For the past three years our Party has conducted a number of national and district full time training schools. On the basis of the experiences obtained, the following article will deal with the problem of the organization and conduct of our school system, and should also serve as a guide to the Districts in their school work. —EDITORS.

* * * *

FULL TIME TRAINING SCHOOLS

WE HAVE three types of full-time training schools, *i.e.*, district, regional and central. The district schools are conducted by the respective districts of our Party and usually are of two to four weeks duration. In some districts where the financial resources permit, a six-weeks school is preferable. However, it is our opinion that 6 weeks should be the maximum—firstly, from the standpoint of finances; secondly, the importance of sending the comrades back to the practical work; thirdly, that in these schools we can accommodate only a small number of workers and, if finances permit, it is better to conduct several short-term schools for we can thus extend the training to greater numbers.

The regional school is an innovation in our Party. It was introduced last December (1931) and the only one so far held was the Mid-Western training school in Detroit, December-January, for six weeks. The regional schools are part of the central schools conducted by the Central Committee. The school held in Detroit showed that these schools give positive results and can be conducted with less difficulty than the central training schools. Furthermore, with a series of regional schools we can reach more members. While in a central school we can train about thirty to forty members from all parts of the country, a regional school can train the same number of students, thus enabling each district in the particular region to send five or six students instead of one or two.

With more district and regional schools to train section and lower district functionaries, the Central Training School, held once a year can be made into an institution for higher education for the purpose of training district and national functionaries. So far

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our central schools held heretofore were able to turn out comrades capable of holding section leading posts, in a few instances, district posts.

ORGANIZATIONAL PREPARATIONS FOR THE SCHOOLS IMPORTANT

Our experience with the schools already held showed that the organizational preparations for the schools must not be neglected. It must be remembered that workers from the field, shop and factory or mine are coming to take up work which they have not had for a long time, since most of them have gone to work at an early age and have been away from school for many years. Some of the workers especially from the coal mining region, and the Southern states, Negro workers, have had very little schooling.

The work at the training school is a mental strain and requires adjustment on the part of the student. It is essential, therefore, to have the physical accommodations ready. The problem of lodging and food should not be left to the last minute. The school term is short, and time lost because of lack of accommodations takes away from the school time and tends to demoralize the students. When a school is planned all elements must be taken into account and preparations made accordingly.

SELECTION OF STUDENTS

This is another important problem which unfortunately is often overlooked. It is not a matter of indifference to us who should be trained for leadership. We must take into consideration the type of worker, the importance of training workers from the basic industries, American workers, Negro workers and women workers. We must not forget the youth. It is of utmost importance for us to train as many young workers as possible. In this respect we are making improvements. For example, in the Central Training School conducted at the present time in New York the average age of the student is much below thirty, with quite a number of students below twenty. Also the percentage of Negro workers is good. Out of forty-one students, twelve are Negro comrades.

The selection of students for the training schools must be done carefully with a view of training cadres. It is therefore necessary to "sacrifice" and send comrades who are actively engaged in work. There is a tendency manifested at times to send those comrades to school who at the given time are not active, or are out of work and can be spared by the district without difficulty. This is not the correct attitude, this will not train cadres of leaders

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for the movement. The districts should send comrades who show signs of leadership, willingness to work and sacrifice, even if it is necessary to take the comrade away from important work.

The districts should also bear in mind the necessity of training Latin-American workers. In several of our districts this is an important problem. There are thousands of Porto Ricans, Philippine workers, Cuban workers, etc., in this country. We are very much behind in this work. We must also remember that in addition to the training of our Latin-American comrades for work in this country among their respective countrymen, there is the problem of training comrades for colonial work. The time has come when we cannot merely talk of patronage of our sister Parties in Latin America, it is time for us to do something concrete. One of the things we must do is the training of more Latin-American workers—Porto Ricans, Mexican workers, Philippine workers, etc.

The shortcoming in our present Central Training School is that there is not one Latin-American comrade in the school. The New York district must be criticized in this respect, especially since the Central Committee extended a greater quota of students to the New York district.

The agrarian work in our Party is becoming of greater importance. It is therefore essential to carry on educational work among the agricultural workers and train agricultural workers for work among the farmers.

CURRICULUM

It is extremely important to adopt a program of work which will not tax the students beyond their capacity. The tendency in the past has been to crowd in many subjects into the curriculum. From experience we have learned that the curriculum should consist of three major subjects, namely, (1) Leninism, (2) Organization Principles of the Party, (3) Trade Union Strategy. The movement among the unemployed and the Negro question are treated as special subjects.

METHODS OF INSTRUCTION

There appeared already articles dealing with this question. However, it is necessary to restate it again. The old method still employed in many of the schools of the country, the lecture method, is almost worthless, especially in dealing with adult workers. The lecturer during his talk is not in a position to establish that close contact with the students which is so essential in teaching. Be-

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sides, workers who are not accustomed to study are not able to concentrate for a considerable period of time and most of the lecture is lost. We, therefore, employ the question-answer and discussion methods. This does not mean, however, that we eliminate lectures altogether. There cannot be an iron-clad rule in this respect. It is very often necessary to lecture at least part of the time to introduce the subject, but the tendency should be to limit lecturing to a minimum. It goes without saying, that the instructor must be thoroughly prepared in the subject, he must be in a position to answer all kinds of questions which come up during the study.

Usually it is done in the following manner: the instructor introduces the subject for about twenty minutes to a half hour, or more if required, then questions asked by the students on the given subject are answered, also the instructor poses certain questions to the class and asks someone to answer. It is also essential while lecturing to interrupt the lecture at certain points and ask the class what they think about this or the other point. This keeps the students alert and interested. At the end of the session the instructor assigns reading material on the subject introduced in the class; these assignments are to be studied in the groups (we refer ot the groups below); at the following session half of the session is devoted to the discussion of the subject assigned, the other half to the introduction of the next topic, etc.

STUDY GROUPS, ETC.

The study groups are extremely important in a full-time training school. The assignment to the study group should be based on the subject discussed in the class. The group is to consist of not more than four or five students. The leader of the group, usually, a more developed comrade, is the chairman of the group. The study is conducted by each student reading in rotation. After reading one, two or three paragraphs, as the case may be, an exchange of opinions of the contents of the part read is taking place. The student gets out much more from the study groups than even from the classes. It is therefore advisable wherever possible to allow more time for the study group periods than for class work. In the recent Central Training School the time was divided equally between the study groups and the class periods.

HOW TO ORGANIZE STUDY GROUPS

The study groups are to be organized at the very beginning of the

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school term. Since it is difficult to judge exactly the level of the theoretical and political development of the students, the groups are made up provisionally. We must make clear to the student body that these groups are temporary, that after the first week when we become better acquainted with the individual students a re-grouping will take place if necessary. It is needless to mention here that the groups should be mixed groups, *i.e.*, Negro and white workers, women and men workers, adult and young workers together in one group. As mentioned above the constant assistance of the instructor or another comrade assigned for this work is essential.

CONCENTRATED STUDY COURSE

All our training schools, because of the short term period, are concentrated courses; we try in a short period of time to cover much ground and, therefore, every hour of the day must be utilized. This does not mean, however, that we should try to cram in more than the student can digest. We must carefully plan our work so as to cover the essential points of a subject in a given time. The reading material must be chosen carefully.

It is also necessary at all times during the course to impress the students with the understanding that the school can only lay the foundation for further development, that it will be necessary for the students to keep on reading after the school is over. The school administration should provide the comrades with a number of pamphlets, books to be taken with them when leaving school.

SILENT READING HOUR

A very important item to be included in the program is the silent reading hour. As per the schedule printed below, the silent reading hour at the Central Traning School was between 5 and 6 p. m. Here the comrades read individually, usually the daily press, or other Party publications. This feature provides the comrades with an opportunity to keep up with the events of the day.

EXCURSIONS

An innovation introduced for the first time in the present central school was an excursion of the students to the Museum of Natural History. We secured the services of a comrade with a thorough knowledge of anthropology who in a two-hour excursion through the museum gave the students an explanation of the evolution of human society, the evolution of man from the prehistoric stage. He explained the materialistic basis for the development of man-

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kind showing how even anthropology and other sciences are utilized by the bourgeoisie for their class interests. This is a method of broadening the views of the students and also a demonstrative method for combatting religious misrepresentations. The comrade also utilized this opportunity to show that the bourgeois theory of the "superiority" of the white race over the colored races is nothing but a myth which is used by the bourgeoisie for oppression of the Negroes in the United States.

PUBLIC SPEAKING

The short term of our schools does not permit the establishment of a special class for public speaking. This can be overcome by the students themselves organizing meetings where two or three comrades are assigned to speak on a certain topic. The student should prepare an outline of his talk. The speech is to last not more than fifteen to twenty minutes. His speech is then criticized by the students pointing out the defects. Here again it is essential that one of the instructors be present and help the comrades with suggestions.

PHYSICAL EXAMINATION OF THE STUDENTS

The good physical condition of the student to be sent to a training school is essential. No student will be in a position to take up the intensive work in the school if suffering from some organic disease. It is therefore imperative for the districts before sending the students to have them examined by a physician. During the term of study, arrangements should be made, wherever possible, for daily exercise. These exercises should take place in the morning before breakfast. Generally during the off hours the students should spend as much time as possible in the open air. During the class period or study group periods five or ten minutes recess should be allowed after each hour. These five or ten minutes should be spent in the open.

READING MATERIAL

The selection of the material for study must be done carefully, with a view of giving the students the essential points without too much reading. The reading should be based on five pages per hour, depending upon the kind of material. In addition to this we also assign practical work, as, for example, in the Organization class one group is constituted as a Party street unit, another as a shop nucleus, a third as a section committee, or district committee, etc.

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The same thing can be done with the Trade Union course. These groups are then given practical tasks: to prepare a leaflet calling for a demonstration, to organize a hunger march in a certain territory, to organize and prepare a strike in a given shop, mine, factory, etc., to prepare a plan of work in connection with the election campaign, etc., etc. Each group brings in a written report on the assignment and it is discussed and criticized in the class.

As to the actual assignment of students for practical work in the Party during the period of the school, it is our opinion that since our schools are, as a rule, of short duration, this is not advisable. Nevertheless, valuable experience can be gained by the students as well as the Party organization if students are assigned to attend meetings of units, section committees, district committees, etc., providing they are not required to lose time from their studies. It is also essential that the literature needed for the course be prepared beforehand and in sufficient quantity; if possible, a copy for each student. In cases where this is not possible, there should be at least one copy for each group.

INSTRUCTORS MUST COME ON TIME

This question is of utmost importance. It is necessary to main-main discipline on the part of the instructor as well as on the part of the students. The program once adopted must be carried out or it will tend to demoralize the student body. Instructors coming late contribute much to the disruption of the school discipline.

It is desirable to arrange the program so that the instructor in a certain subject gives some time to the study groups; there are many problems arising in the groups which cannot be cleared up by the group which results in wrangling and waste of time. This can be accomplished by giving the instructor a whole day for his subject. As for example: a certain day is given to Leninism; the instructor spends in the class from 9 to 11 a. m.; from 11 a. m. to 1 p. m. he visits the study groups spending a little while in each group; then, after lunch, from 2 to 4 p. m., another class. Since our instructors are active Party comrades, we cannot expect them to stay for the second study group period, which should be between 7 and 9 p. m. For this reason, and for many other reasons, it is essential to have a comrade fully in charge of the school. This comrade should be himself an instructor; he can help the students at all times. It must be remembered that in dealing with a group of 25 and more, there arise problems which require immediate attention; a comrade placed in charge of the school will help to maintain the morale of the school.

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ORGANIZATION OF STUDENT BODY

The student body is organized in the following manner:

A class secretary, students council, a social committee and house committees are elected. The students are divided into groups of five to six, including the leader of the group, who usually is a more developed comrade. While the comrade in charge of the school is not to dictate to the various committees, he should guide them in their work. Any signs of bureaucracy developing in the groups or committees must be combatted at once.

It must be made clear that if the elected committees or groups do not function properly, new elections can take place. The students' council is the leading body of the school and takes up all problems arising, including problems of discipline. The social committee is to plan small affairs for the students, organize physical exercise wherever possible, etc. The house committees are to see that the quarters are kept clean and wherever necessary to assign comrades from day to day for various duties.

CLASS MEETINGS

Class meetings are held every week. At these meetings problems relating to the school are discussed. The method of self-criticism is developed, the students pointing out shortcomings of the school as a whole, those of the instructors, methods of teaching, their own shortcomings and those of their groups. These meetings are valuable; they show to the comrades how to discuss problems in a Bolshevik manner, in a manner of self-criticism. These meetings help in the characterization of the students as well as the instructors. The characterizations are very important; it gives us the means of judging the students with regard to the assignments of work.

ASSIGNMENTS FOR WORK

We have stressed in previous articles the importance of placing the student in such work which will help him to gain confidence, where he will not meet with immediate failure. Unfortunately, the reverse is the case. Our districts are so depleted of forces that they grab the new graduate and put him in responsible positions which are too difficult for him to tackle. The student who received theoretical training is usually filled with enthusiasm and is ready to plunge into work, but if at the very outset he is confronted with insurmountable difficulties, he is apt to get discouraged, develop a feeling of inferiority and, in certain cases, might be lost to the

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Party. The districts must plan the assignment of work carefully and in close consultation with the school administration. It is also necessary to impress the students with the necessity of writing to the school director or the comrade in charge of the school, or, for that matter, to any of the instructors asking their advice, informing them about their work, etc. It should be understood that the training does not end with the four or six weeks of school. The training continues after the school is over in the field of work. The instructors can be of valuable assistance at the same time themselves, learning from the experiences of the comrades.

LEADING COMRADES SHOULD TEACH

Many of our leading comrades have never taught, and usually refuse to teach because they are too busy with other work. We must point out here that the comrades miss a great opportunity of acquiring direct experience by coming in close contact with the students. In order to teach, one is compelled to prepare, to review things, to read up new material, thus giving one a chance for personal development; on the other hand, the instructor learns a great deal in the mutual exchange of opinions, experiences with the comrades sent to the school.

In conclusion, we wish to state that although a serious beginning has been made by our Party in the theoretical training of our comrades, it is still very inadequate. More must be done; every district must consider this a major task. Without the theoretical development of our ranks the Party will not progress much. The retention of the members in the Party, the successes of struggles conducted by the Party and the revolutionary unions depends to a great extent on the political development of our members. This, however, is not yet sufficiently understood in our ranks.

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American Imperialism's Growing Parasitic Bureaucracy

By MAX WEISS

THE general intensification of the campaign of terror against the Party, the revolutionary organizations and militant workers, places sharply before us a question of paramount importance. Passage of the Dies Bill, preparation of allied legislation, inclusion in every budgetary recommendation of additional appropriations for repressive measures—all this brings to the fore a consideration of the physical embodiment of this wave of political terror—the parasitic and oppressive state bureaucracy.

This bureaucracy is native to the capitalist system. Together with the armed forces of the state, it develops in the same measure that capitalism declines.

> "The bureaucracy and standing army constitute a 'parasite' on the body of capitalist society — a parasite born of the internal struggles which tear that society asunder, but essentially a parasite 'blocking up' the pores of existence." (Lenin, *State and Revolution.*)

This epoch of imperialist decay brings the whole process of the development of this parasitic superstructure to a head. The " 'blocking up' the pores of existence" expresses itself very concretely in the sharp contradiction between the ever more insupportable weight of the bureaucratic apparatus and the increasingly narrowing economic base.

Reflected into actual life, this contradiction is revealed in the progressive elimination of accumulated treasury surpluses and the piling up instead of huge governmental deficits.

The very instrument, the bureaucracy and military machine, consciously cultivated by capitalism for its own maintenance, becomes under imperialism, one of the most powerful levers for its own destruction.

To the example given by Engels of "*modern Europe where the class struggles and wars of conquest have nursed the public power to such a size that it threatens to swallow the whole society and the state itself,*" we may now add modern America which is the latest among the imperialist countries to feel the crushing weight of this immense bureaucratic superstructure.

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Before our very eyes we see the distinction, valid in their time, made by Marx and Engels, between the continental countries of Europe and the Anglo-Saxon countries (England and America), effaced in the most emphatic manner.

> "Today in 1917, in the epoch of the first great imperialist war, this distinction of Marx's becomes unreal, and England and America, the greatest and last representatives of Anglo-Saxon 'liberty' in the sense of the absence of militarism and bureaucracy, have today completely rolled down into the dirty, bloody morass of military-bureaucratic institutions common to all Europe, subordinating all else to themselves, crushing all else under themselves. Today, both in England and America the 'preliminary conditions of any people's revolution' is the break-up, the shattering of the 'available ready machinery of the state' (perfected in those countries between 1914 and 1917 up to the 'European,' general imperialist standard)." (Lenin, *State and Revolution.*)

The four billion dollar deficit of the American treasury proves conclusively that, far from being exempted from the operation of this law of capitalist decline, the most powerful imperialist countries fall the most marked victims to it. The whole furore centering around the balancing of the budget, governmental "economies," increased taxation, etc., signifies that the parasite has done its work well in " 'blocking up' the pores of existence" at the same time that it weighs like an intolerable, repressive force on the masses of workers.

It would be a mistake to assume that the present deficit is of a momentary character or has merely the significance of a "temporary embarrassment." The basic roots of the whole development which, under the impetus of the cyclical crisis superimposed on the general crisis of capitalism, is speeded up enormously and concretely expressed in the present deficit, can be traced back to the period when the United States began to doff its industrial capitalist swaddling clothes and don the dignified garments of imperialism.

> "Imperialism in particular, the era of financial capital, the era of gigantic capitalist monopolies, the era of the transformation of *simple* trust-capitalism into *state* trust-capitalism, shows an unprecedented strengthening of the 'State machine' and an unheard-of development of its bureaucratic and military apparatus side by side with the increase of oppression of the proletariat, alike in monarchical and the freest republican countries." (Lenin, *State and Revolution.*)

The growth of this bureaucratic superstructure and military machine is clearly indicated in the steady march upward of the "cost

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of government," federal, state and local. While part of this increase may be ascribed to the growth in population, in the sum total of factors affecting the growth of governmental expenditure, the growth of population plays an insignificant part. A comparison of the percentage growth of population and of percentage increase in governmental expenditure exposes at once its real cause—a corresponding growth of the parasitic bureaucracy and military machine.

According to figures compiled by the National Industrial Conference Board the "cost of government," federal, state and local, increased from 1890, when it amounted to a total of 855 millions of dollars, to 1930, when it amounted to 15,090 millions of dollars, the huge increase of well over 1,400 per cent can by no means be ascribed to the increase in population, since the figure for this increase for the same period represents a percentage growth merely of 144 per cent.

Nor can the fluctuation in prices be held responsible for any basic change in this relationship. When adjustments are made for these price changes, the increase in the above-mentioned period of "governmental costs" is from 1,062 millions to 15,769 millions. The growth of the "cost of government" side by side with the constant relatively—now absolutely—narrowing economic base can be seen in the fact that while the "national income" in 1913 was 34 billions of dollars and in 1928, 81 billions of dollars—an increase of 135 per cent, the "cost of government" increased by more than 300 per cent in the same period.

The last three years of continually deepening crisis have made the crushing burden of this imperialist deadweight even more insupportable as the "national income" keeps steadily contracting. With the "national income" in 1929 equal to $85,000,000,000 and the "cost of government" equal to $13,000,000,000, the cost of maintaining the "functions of government" was 15 per cent of the total "national income." In 1930 it was 18 per cent; in 1931 it was 27 per cent; in 1932 it is estimated at 31 per cent of the "national income."

The increase in the "cost of government" is but a surface indication of the physical growth of this huge bureaucracy. The actual measure of this growth must be looked for in the ascending curve of the number of functionaries employed by the federal, state, city and local governments.

In the sixty years following the presidency of Jefferson, the civil service increased 15 times its original size. This increase occurred simultaneously with a total increase in the population of nearly five times. In fact, in 1883, the number of federal em-

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ployees of one type or another, and exclusive of the armed force, is placed by the sociologist Sharpe at 120,000. Already in the pre-imperialist epoch of American capitalism, the germs of the future bureaucracy were only too clearly apparent. While the liberals at that time saw in the growth of this monstrous bureaucratic apparatus merely the evil outcropping of the "spoils system" and pressed for civil service reforms in an effort to reduce the number of parasites that hung even then like an intolerable burden on the infant American capitalism, it is clear that no technical revision of qualifications for office holding could curb even slightly the operation of this inherent law of capitalism.

Since that time this tendency has gorged itself on the growing necessity for the development of a parasitic bureaucracy under imperialism until today it has reached gigantic proportions.

An official study of the government personnel in 1925 (*Public Personnel Studies*) reveals the following significant information of the state of affairs seven years ago: in but six departments of the executive branch of the federal government, a total of 491,339 people were employed. The six departments include postal, treasury, veterans, agriculture, navy and war. The figures for the latter department are exclusive of the men actually in the armed forces. If this were to have been included, the total for even these six departments would reach well over the 500,000 mark. The same sociologist, Sharpe, (*Le development de la bureaucratic dans les Etats-Unis*, Revue de Politique Science, 1927) also estimates that the total number of functionaries in the United States in 1927, federal, state, local and in cities populated by more than 5,000 was at least 2,500,000 and possibly above 3,000,000. The growth since 1913 was approximately 100 per cent.

Since then, of course, the bureaucracy has grown precisely in proportion to the maturing of all the parasitic features of modern imperialism. An outstanding characteristic of this growth is the increase in those sections of the bureaucracy which serve, either directly or indirectly, as instruments of oppression in the hands of the ruling class. Here it is deceptive to rely on the nomenclature employed in the creation and strengthening of the various departments, commissions and bureaus.

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What the mammoth proportions of the federal bureaucracy alone amount to may be seen at a glance from the following table prepared by the New York *Times*:

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Department	*Number*	*Cost*
Executive, military, civilian	1,023,373	$1,315,690,467
Legislative	9,049	23,087,764
Judicial	266	2,892,200
Total	1,032,688	$1,341,670,431

It should be noticed how the above table conceals the militaristic and oppressive character of the federal bureaucracy by lumping military and civilian employees and appropriations under one heading, thereby concealing the immense role that the direct organs of military oppression play in the whole bureaucratic superstructure.

Taking this as the total number of federal employees and even allowing for the inconceivable fact that the number of state, city and local functionaries has remained stationary since 1927, we have the staggering sum of over 4 million people connected in one way or another with the state apparatus!

The commentary of Marx on the bureaucracy which had arisen in the period of the fall of feudalism—a fall, be it noted which Marx considers in a large part ascribable to this very bureaucracy itself—may be here reproduced with a hundredfold more emphasis:

> "This executive power with its enormous bureaucratic and military machine of government, with its army of half a million officials, side by side with a military force of another half million, this frightful parasitic organism covering as with a net the whole body of French society and blocking up all its pores, had arisen in the period of absolute monarchy, at the time of the fall of feudalism; a fall which this organism had helped to hasten." (*18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.*)

And if from this and similar phenomena Marx, Engels and Lenin drew the conclusion that precisely because the bureaucratic apparatus had grown to such proportions was it necessary to shatter and smash it before building up the proletarian state which would then, with the disappearance of classes, wither away, how much more inescapable is this conclusion today!

What today is left of the arguments of the "Socialists" that it is possible for the working class to peacefully capture power and turn this immense capitalist state machine to its own use hardly bears refutation. The entire development of imperialism has, with iron logic, proven the necessity of smashing the deadweight of the capitalist state structure as the major revolutionary task on the road to building a classless society.

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The Work of Trade Union Fractions

RESOLUTION OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

THE whole practice of carrying out the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International and the decisions of the Plenums of the E. C. C. I., which supplement them, confirm the fact that it will be impossible to solve the central task of the moment—the winning over of the majority of the working class in preparation for the fights for the dictatorship of the proletariat—unless every-day systematic stubborn and properly organized work is carried on both in the revolutionary trade unions which are under the ideological and organizational influence of the Communist Parties and in the reformist and other reactionary trade unions. However, this most important sector of the mass work of the Communist Parties still continues to be the weakest one, and this weakness of the work of the Communist Parties in the trade unions is now one of the main hindrances for their further development. In the resolution of the second international organizational meeting on the structure and methods of work of Communist fractions inside the trade unions, confirmed by the Sixth Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I., the most concrete instructions are given to the Communist fractions in the trade unions on how to build up the work of the Communist Parties in the trade unions. These decisions of the second international organizational meeting are still correct on the whole at the present moment.

SUGGESTED CHANGES

The changes which have taken place in the general situation in the class struggle of the proletariat and likewise the changes in the organizational structure, the methods of work and the composition of the leading cadres of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade union movement since the Sixth Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. make it necessary to make some additions and amendments to these decisions. First of all, practice shows that it is no longer advisable for trade union departments to exist further in countries with a legal revolutionary trade union movement.

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The Communist Parties of France, Germany and Czecho-Slovakia have already done away with their trade union departments. The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. sanctions these decisions and resolves to alter the directives of the second international organizational meeting and to instruct the other Communist Parties in countries with a legal revolutionary trade union movement to abolish their trade union departments, and in the future to bring about the leadership of the work of the trade union fractions directly through the bureaus of the corresponding Party committees. For this purpose (1) when constructing the leading organs (Party committees, bureaus of Party committees), take steps to include in them the leaders of the chief revolutionary trade union organizations; (2) at meetings of the Party committee and its bureau, have regular reports made on the activity of the fractions of the corresponding trade union organizations to which the influence of the given Party committee extends. In connection with these reports of the Communist fractions, the question of trade union work should be raised and discussed in the Party committees; (3) one of the members of the secretariat (or bureau) of the Party committee must be charged with carrying out daily contacts with the fractions of the corresponding trade union organizations and preparing to raise the question of the activity of these fractions (preliminary discussion, preparation of draft resolutions, etc.) for discussion by the Party organizations (the Party committee and its bureau, general meetings and conferences, etc.).

In countries with an illegal revolutionary trade union movement, instead of having trade union departments under the Party committees, there must be formed after the example of the Communist Party of Poland regularly working gatherings of representatives of the trade union fractions in the leading trade union organs, under the leadership of specially appointed representatives of the corresponding Party committees (central, district, local). These gatherings must play the role of the bureaus of the fractions (central, district and local) of the revolutionary trade union centers.

TO OVERCOME EXISTING SHORTCOMINGS

When liquidating the trade union departments, it is very important that the corresponding Party committees shall not deal with this matter mechanically. In every concrete case there must be well thought out preparations with a definite principle, so that as the result of doing away with the trade union department, the contacts of the fractions with the Party committee will unquestionably be

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made stronger and so that the Party committee and the whole Party organization should take part as a whole in the systematic discussion and solution of trade union questions.

The following important shortcomings are to be found at present in the activity of the trade union Communist fractions:

(a) The trade union fractions are not suitably instructed by the corresponding Party committees, but the leadership of the activity of the fraction is frequently carried out in a formal and mechanical manner—by sending circulars and general directives. The Party Committees have not yet learned to lead the every-day work of the trade union fractions, have not learned how to train the existing cadres of the revolutionary trade union organizations in the spirit of the Party line and to strengthen them by attracting new and fresh forces.

(b) The Communists working in trade unions still very often in practice carry out the leading role of the Party by methods of commanding and not by insistent work of conviction and by personal example inside the trade unions. As the result, the internal life is suppressed in the revolutionary trade union organizations and they are converted into duplicates of the Party organizations, with approximately the same members and mechanically repeating Party decisions.

(c) On the part of the Party committees, there is very often to be observed an actual self-elimination from participation in the discussion and solution of the concrete problems of trade union, *e.g.*, self-elimination from participation in the various campaigns carried out by the revolutionary trade union organizations, and in some cases even self-elimination from the question of the strike struggle but more often in questions of wage scales and social insurance, etc., which is completely incorrect. They consider these to be mere trade union questions which do not apply to the Party organizations, etc. In the near future, all Communist Parties must pay the greatest attention to the concrete tasks of carrying on the most insistent work for removing these shortcomings and weaknesses in the sphere of trade union work and for strengthening their positions in the trade union organizations. The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. indicates the following and most important of these tasks:

HOW TRADE UNION FRACTIONS SHOULD BE ORGANIZED

1. To bring about the formation of trade union fractions in trade union organizations of all kinds in the shortest possible time, containing Party members (according to the decisions at the second international organizational meeting). The Central Committees

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of the Communist Parties must send experienced instructors and organizers to form strong and active Communist fractions in those trade union organizations where the Communist fractions either do not exist at all or where they exist but work badly and do not yet play any important role in the activity of these trade union organizations.

2. The Sixth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. confirmed the decisions of the second international organizational meeting that trade union fractions should keep in contact not only with the corresponding Party committees but also between themselves, and the fraction of the higher trade union organizations should give compulsory directives to the fractions of the lower trade union organizations, so that each trade union fraction will be subordinated to two bodies —the corresponding Party committee and the trade union fraction of the higher trade union organization. In practice this decision has very often not been carried out up to the present and is even questioned, and quotations are frequently made from the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in which the trade union fractions are not linked up among themselves but are subordinate only to the corresponding Party committee. The Presidium requires all Communist Parties to carry into practice without hesitation the decisions of the Sixth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. on the double subordination of trade union fractions. For the Communist Parties of capitalist and colonial countries, with their weak apparatus, with the difficulties of contacts between the organizations, especially under circumstances of whole or partly underground work, it is extremely necessary to have double contacts and double subordination of trade union fractions. If the work of the trade union fractions is properly guided by the Party committee, every decision and instruction of the trade union fractions will be previously coordinated along Party lines, and will thus be a direction of this Party committee for all Party members working in the given trade union organization. Therefore double contacts and the subordination of trade union fractions will make it possible to improve the leadership of the work of the fractions by the Party and in addition will make it possible to improve the contacts between the higher and lower Party organizations, because the directives handed on by the trade union fractions of the higher trade union organizations to the fractions of the lower trade union organizations must reflect the line and the concrete directives of the higher Party committee which are sent out by the legal and semi-legal channels of the trade union organizations. The trade union fractions of the lower trade union organizations, on receiving directives from the higher fraction, will coordinate the forms of carrying them out in practice with the corresponding Party committee which directs

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the work of these lower trade union fractions. It is not correct to quote the experience of the C. P. S. U., because not a single Communist Party in capitalist and colonial countries has such a strong influence on the trade unions and has not such means of contact and control over the fulfillment of Party directives as the C. P. S. U. We should remember that in the past (until 1922), there were also two-sided contacts and double insubordination of trade union fractions in the C. P. S. U.

FRACTIONS AND NUCLEI

3. The resolution of the second international organizational meeting points out that trade union fractions in the factories are to carry out their work through the factory nuclei. The Presidium considers this indication of the second international organizational meeting to be quite correct and only thinks it necessary to supplement it by the following explanation. In capitalist countries, there may be and usually are members of several trade unions—revolutionary, reformist and others—in factories. Party members who are members of a trade union and work in the factory must unquestionably be organized in the factory fraction group of this trade union. Every such fraction group must keep in constant contact with the fraction of the corresponding trade union organization, inform it of what takes place in the factory, and in turn receive information through the fraction of the measures and the plans of the given trade union organization. However, the fraction will not give any direct directives to its factory fraction group (if the corresponding Party committee has not been broken up by police repression), but these directives will be given by the Party committee through the factory nucleus. On the other hand, the factory fraction groups of the various trade unions represented in the factory cannot carry on any special work in the factory along the lines of their union which is not known to the factory Party nucleus and which is not closely linked up with the every-day work of the factory nucleus. The factory nucleus must guide *all the trade union work* in the factory. This means that the factory fraction groups of the various trade unions must work under the direct leadership of the factory nucleus. At the same time, the factory nucleus must energetically utilize these factory fraction groups to penetrate from below from the factory into all the trade unions which have branches in the given factory, and thus strengthen the influence of the Party in all these trade unions. For this purpose, it is particularly important that the lower Party committees (local and district) should organize systematic and joint meetings of

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the representatives of factory nuclei and fractions (local and district) of the corresponding unions to discuss the concrete questions of trade union work in the factories, as concrete questions of defending the every-day interests of the workers of the given factory, bring about the joint activity of the members of all the trade unions under the ideological and organizational leadership of the factory revolutionary trade union groups.

4. In cases when the revolutionary trade union organizations are faced with the questions which are of big political importance (putting forward a program of immediate demands, preparing for a strike, etc.), the corresponding Party committee must first discuss these questions and must certainly bring into this discussion the representative (or representatives) of the fractions and thus work out for the latter definite directives as to what they are to do. The Party committee in such a case must avoid the predetermination of details, leaving the concretization for the fractions themselves, and demanding from the fraction the greatest initiative in this concretization and the most careful consideration of all the peculiarities of the work of the trade union organizations represented by them. If the circumstances of the time and place require the fraction to deviate from the directives of the Party leaders, the fraction must apply to the corresponding Party committee for new directives. If for some reason it is impossible to get these new directives from the Party committee and it is necessary to act without losing time, the fraction must make a decision on its own responsibility and give an account later to the Party committee.

5. Before meetings of red trade unions and organizations of the Red Trade Union Opposition (Congress or conferences), the corresponding Party committee must discuss the questions which are to be taken up at these meetings (Congress and conferences), calling in representatives of the corresponding Communist fractions. On all these questions, the Party committee must work out suitable directives for the Communist fractions. If at the meetings (Congresses or conferences) there is the question of electing new leading organs, the Party committee together with the representatives of the fractions must carefully discuss which candidates are to be backed up by the fraction and which are to be opposed. When discussing these candidates, the following must be taken as the basis:

(a) The necessity of selecting a Party kernel which will insure the political line and the efficient work of the new leading organ; (b) in addition to Party members it is essential to put forward the candidacy of revolutionary-minded workers (non-Party and also socialists, anarchists, etc.) who are trusted by the masses and who have come forward as good organizers of the revolutionary

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activity of the proletariat. The Communist fractions on their part must hold their meetings before trade union questions are brought up at the Party committees and must prepare concrete propositions for meetings of the Party's committees.

6. When preparing Party conferences and congresses at which questions of the trade union movement and the economic struggle will be discussed, the theses on these questions must be worked out with the assistance and the most active participation of the leading trade union fractions which must thus make it possible for the Party to take into account all the experience of the trade union movement. When preparing for trade union conferences and congresses, the Party must give the general direction to the discussion through the fractions and must see that the Party members are the driving force in the preparations of trade union conferences and congresses. Self-criticism must not only touch on the weaknesses of the work of the trade union but on the weaknesses of the work of the Communists in the trade unions.

Correct leadership of the trade unions exclude petty guardianship, harassing and commanding. The Party must neither command nor present the trade unions unexpectedly with a completed fact. The Party must instruct the Communists working in the trade unions that their main duty on the basis of trade union democracy is to convince the masses of members of the correctness of the slogans and the various other proposals of the Communist Party for strengthening of the revolutionary movement. The chief thing in the leadership of the trade unions is the method of convincing and developing the initiative of the members.

CORRECT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FRACTIONS AND TRADE UNIONS

7. The most important (and at the same time the most difficult) thing is to establish correct relations between the Communist fractions and the trade unions, especially the revolutionary trade unions. It is along these lines that most mistakes and confusion is found in practice. As the revolutionary trade union organizations must be mass organizations including all sections of the working class irrespective of their political views, etc., the Communists working in these organizations must insure themselves influence and the decisive role by good and capable work, by methods of the most patient and insistent explanations of the Party line, showing by concrete examples what line the Party is carrying on in the struggle for the immediate demands of the workers, and giving personal examples of the most consistent and courageous work for these demands.

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The correct and flexible leadership of the work of trade union fractions is of specially great importance during economic struggles. During economic struggles, the Party as a rule must act from within, putting forward corresponding organizations of the revolutionary trade unions and the revolutionary trade union opposition as organizers and leaders of economic struggles.

At meetings of trade union organizations (and of organs set up by the trade unions), when Communists make proposals in accordance with the decisions of the fraction or the Party committee, they should not point out directly that their propositions are Party directives. According to the decision of the fraction (or the bureau of the fraction) one of the Communist members of the fraction may make these propositions in his own name, etc. Other members of the fraction must vote solidly for these proposals and also give them every support in their speeches, etc., and in addition, those members of the fraction who disagreed with a proposal when it was being discussed inside the fraction, must act in the same way.

8. In all cases of carrying out Party directives through the trade union fractions, it is necessary to combine the greatest insistence with the consistent application of trade union democracy, so that leadership by the Party will not reduce the trade union organization to a nonentity and will not hinder the development of the initiative of trade union workers. If the majority in the leading trade union organ or conference or at a general meeting of trade union members are opposed to some proposition of the Party committee, when however useful and necessary this proposition may be, it should as a rule, be withdrawn and not put into force in the given organization until the question is discussed again. In such cases special meetings should be held in all the lower organs of the given revolutionary trade union organization and the question raised again until it is adopted by the majority. We must learn not to force our opinions on people but to be able to convince those who are mistaken, otherwise we shall not be able to win over new sections of the workers.

THE INTERNAL LIFE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY UNIONS

9. While showing irreconcilability in matters relating to the political line of the Communist Party and mercilessly exposing the counter-revolutionary role of the reformist leaders, we must have a comradely approach to socialist workers and members of the reformist unions. In the revolutionary trade union organizations we must create an atmosphere from top to bottom so that the non-Party workers and the social democratic workers will feel themselves to be members on a level with the Communists and sympathizers.

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The struggle against the opposition in revolutionary trade unions must be carried on by different methods from the struggle against the right or "left" opposition inside the Party. First of all, in the struggle against the trade union opposition, there is no need to introduce the question of Party discipline, difference of opinion on the Party line, etc. The whole struggle must be carried on only on the question of the trade unions, and the question of discipline must be kept within the limits of the statutes of the trade union movement (which naturally presupposes a decisive struggle along Party lines against members of the Party who work in trade unions and resist the application of the Party line). In the trade unions more than anywhere else we need a stubborn and patient campaign of explanation among the masses and a struggle for each individual worker, etc. On the other hand, the internal life in the revolutionary trade union organizations must be organized in such a way that every member of the revolutionary trade union organization which disagrees with a majority decision should not be able to defend his views further within the limits of the rules. The struggle against breaches of trade union discipline must above all be carried on by patient convincing. Disciplinary measures should be applied only in the most extreme cases and always on the basis of trade union democracy. Therefore in the struggle against the opposition in the midst of the revolutionary trade union organizations, we must more than anywhere else separate the leaders from the masses. The task of convincing the masses and isolating the leaders cannot be solved by sweeping charges of reformism or anarcho-syndicalism, but by insistent and patient explanatory work.

In giving these additional instructions to the decisions of the second international organizational meeting on the work of Communist fractions in the trade unions, the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. instructs the Central Committees to bring them immediately before the members, to organize their thorough discussion and popularization in the Party press, at Party meetings and in the Party schools and courses. In addition, all Party committees (beginning with the Central Committees) and factory nuclei must make concrete decisions on the basis of these instructions regarding their immediate tasks in trade union work and in future establish the strictest and most systematic checking up on the fulfillment of these directives and the decisions of local Party organizations which make them concrete. At the same time the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. demands a most decisive struggle to be carried on, and the use of organizational measures against those organs of the Party leadership which in future do not pay proper attention to trade union questions.

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The American Economic Crisis

By LABOR RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

As of July, 1932

THE first half of 1932 ended with nearly every significant measure of trade and industry and of employment and payrolls at or near record low. The *Annalist Index of Business Activity* for June, at 52.2, was the lowest on record. The production of pig iron and steel ingots reached the lowest levels in the history of the industry. Building construction contracts declined during the month to a new daily low of $3,720,000. New low records were reached in the output of bituminous coal, in the consumption of wool, in the production of zinc, in the consumption of cotton. June department store sales (in dollars) stood at the record low of 70 as compared with 73 in May, the monthly average for the years 1923-1925 having been 100. The June index of factory employment for New York State was down to the record low of 55.7, a drop of 3.4% from May, the sharpest drop on record; and the state's factory payrolls index stood at 42.7, a fall of 5% from May. The number of totally unemployed persons in America is now not less than 15,000,000 persons.

Such are the conditions of economic America at the end of the first half of 1932.

The second half of the year begins with a further deepening of the crisis, with increasing unemployment and decreased earnings, with the resources of private as well as public charities rapidly drying up, and with Congress adjourned without having taken any measures for the permanent relief of the existing mass distress. *And there is nothing on the horizon at this time that holds out any promise of tangible improvement in the business conditions of the country before next winter.*

When winter comes new forces may assert themselves of which we are at present but faintly aware.

I. GENERAL PRODUCTION

When the *Annalist Index of Business Activity* reached a new low in June at 52.2 (preliminary) it stood .6 below that of May. This rather small decline in the composite index is, however, misleading, inasmuch as a series of purely temporary factors obscured the gen-

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eral downward tendency of the business trend. One of these factors was the rise during the first half of the month in "merchandise" and "miscellaneous" car loadings, due to increased shipments of merchandise in advance of the imposition of the new tax rates beginning June 21. Car loadings since then have resumed their decline, so that for the week ending July 2 they were already 29,000 tons less than for the week ending June 18.

Another accidental factor making for the small decrease in the composite index was the increase in the consumption of electric power. Half the increase was due to the domestic consumption by radio and electric light on the all-night wrangle of the Democrats at their Convention in Chicago during the night of June 30. On the other hand, sales of electric power to small commercial consumers declined during the month to earlier low levels, and sales to the larger commercial consumers declined to a new low level for the current depression.

A third temporary factor which prevented the further decline in the composite index of business activity was the spurt in the production of the lower-priced automobiles. During the current month (July) the earlier declining tendencies in the output of automobiles has again set in.

In short, already the composite weekly index for the week ending July 9 (adjusted for the holiday) reached a new low at 54.2 (preliminary), and all signs point to further declines in July and August.

The Shippers' Regional Advisory Boards of the American Railway Association estimate the third quarter freight car loadings at 21% less than for the same quarter of last year. This may be taken as a conservative all-inclusive business forecast for the next three months. As a matter of record the estimates of these Boards since the first quarter of 1930 have run consistently lower than the actual loadings.

II. THE BASIC INDUSTRIES

Pig iron production in June was the lowest since 1896. On a daily basis it was 17% less than in May this year and *only* 17% of the daily output of June, 1929. Seven more blast furnaces were blown out during the month (and but one blown in), and at the beginning of July the 46 furnaces remaining in blast were turning out 2,000 tons less per day than the June average.

The output of *steel* ingots hit new record lows in June and fell to still lower levels during the first week of July, when the industry was operated at 12% of capacity. Since then the largest users of steel products — the construction industry and automobiles — have further curtailed their own schedules, and railroads cannot pay their

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fixed charges, let alone come into the market for new equipment. No hope can, therefore, be entertained for any rebound in the steel industry in the discernable future. Indeed, the situation is becoming so desperate that financial writers (for example in the *World Telegram*, June 22) are beginning to fear that "government aid to private corporations may become imperative!"

Unfilled orders of the U. S. Steel Corp., as of June 30, at only slightly above 2,000,000 tons, are the smallest in the history of the corporation.

A new low daily *building construction* record was set up in June. Contributing to it were a sharp decrease in the construction of public works and utility contracts and the new low in non-residential contracts. Residence construction remained at the levels of May, the low record for that type of construction. Average daily construction for all types of building for the country at large amounted to about one-third of a year ago. For New York City, for the first six months of the year, building activity averaged only about one-fifth of a year ago. Building permits in Illinois in June were down 84% from June, 1931, and half of the total amount were for repairs.

Textile mill activity continued at the low rate set up in May. The production of carded cotton cloth in June, on a weekly rate, was the lowest since comparable statistics were first published in 1928. June *consumption of raw cotton* in American mills, 320,783 bales, was the lowest monthly total since pre-war days with the sole exception of Dec. 1920, when it amounted to 295,292. Typical of the capitalistic notion that a way out of a depression is through curtailing production, proposals are now being made by the Cotton Textile Institute to discontinue night work in the cotton mills for a year beginning next October.

The *consumption of wool* in May (latest available information) reached the "absurdly low figure" (*The Annalist*) of 39.5, the index number adjusted for the season and for the long run trend. Here too "a program of curtailment" is proposed as a way out. This time the proposal is based on the "findings" of the industrial research department of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. In other words, to balance production and consumption, the capitalist proposal is to further curtail production.

The *consumption of raw silk* shares with other textiles the march downward. Employment in the silk industry in May was 19.6% smaller than in April, and 37.3% lower than in May a year ago. United States imports of raw silk in June were 33% less than a year ago. (As these lines are written, July 19, one of the largest

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silk mills, the Susquehanna Silk Co., is reported placed in the hands of receivers.)

June production of *automobiles and trucks* was smaller than in May, when seasonally it should have been larger, and amounted to 26% less than in June a year ago. For the first half of the year the output is 44% less than for the corresponding period of last year. Because of a more than seasonal bunching of production of the lower-priced makes in May and June the prospects are for more than seasonal curtailment in July and August.

Other industries of importance in the economic life of the nation show similar tendencies. Thus, shipments of *anthracite coal* in June, amounting to less than 2,000,000 tons, were 20% lower than in May and 43% lower than a year ago. Average daily production in June, 98,000 tons, compares with the 131,000 ton average of May this year, with 175,000 tons of June, 1931, and with the 206,000 tons of June, 1930. The production of *bituminous coal* in June, at a daily average of 681,000 tons, compares with the daily average of 727,000 of the previous month, with 1,123,000 of June, 1931, and with 1,366,000 tons of June, 1930.

Lumber production for the five weeks ending July 2, was 46% below the corresponding weeks of 1931, and 60% below those of 1930. Orders received during these five weeks were 40% below those of 1931 and 49% below those of 1930. On July 2, unfilled orders were equivalent to 8 days' average production as compared with an equivalent of the 16 days' average production on the corresponding date a year ago.

III. DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN TRADE

Department store sales for the first half of the year were 23% below those for the first 6 months of a year ago, and for June, 26% less than last year. *Sales of wholesale firms* in May were 26% and chain stores 13% lower than last year. Sales of *General Motors cars* to consumers amounted to 56,987 in June, against 63,500 in May this year, and 103,303 in June last year. *New life insurance* written in June was 22.6% less than a year ago. For the first six months of the year the drop has amounted to 13.9%. It is the cumulative decline in sales of new life policies, together with the drastic decline in the value of securities and mortgages held by insurance companies that has brought most of the insurance companies of this country to the verge of bankruptcy. As a matter of fact, it is only because insurance companies are permitted to carry their assets at maturity rather than market value that they can still *appear solvent on paper.*

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For the first time in the history of the country fewer *telephones* in appreciable numbers are being put into service than are being discontinued. During the first six months of the year the loss has accumulated to 785,000 units. This represents a loss of about 6% from the peak of installations reached in 1930. Long distance calls—business calls—a major source of revenue, were 15% less than for the first six months of 1931.

As regards *foreign trade* of the United States, the picture is equally dismal. June *exports*, of $115,000,000, were 13% lower than in May, and nearly 40% below those of a year ago. Due to a rush of shipments from abroad to get here before the imposition of the new import duties on June 21, the rare spectacle of imports exceeding exports occurred, the excess this time amounting to some $6,000,000. Nevertheless June imports, while some 8% higher than those of May, were some 30% below June of last year.

IV. FAILURES

Commercial failures in June, numbering 2,688, were the highest for that month on record. Liabilities were 48.9% above a year ago. Failures for the first six months of the year and of the last follow:

Month	*No. of Failures*		*% Change*	
	1932	1931	Plus	Minus
Jan.	3458	3316	4	—
Feb.	2732	2563	6.5	—
Mar.	2951	2604	15	—
Apr.	2816	2383	18	—
May	2788	2248	24	—
June	2688	1993	35	—

The percentage columns of the table show that as compared with last year commercial failures have been on a steady rise since the beginning of the year.

The veritable avalanche of bank failures in Chicago—35 in two weeks—lifted the total of bank failures for the month considerably above those for May. The large Central Republic, Charles G. Dawes' Chicago bank, was saved from suspending, only by the timely loan of $80,000,000 advanced to it by the Reconstruciton Finance Corporation. Mr. Dawes had resigned as head of the Corporation only a week before.

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V. BANKING AND FINANCE

The banking situation of the country remains precarious, with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Federal Reserve pumping hundreds of millions of dollars into the banks in attempts to stave off disaster. During the first five months of its existence, ending June 30, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation has helped 3,600 such banks and trust companies to the extent of $642,789,-313. At the same time the Federal Reserve has relieved the banks of the country of nearly one billion dollars worth of government bonds.

As a psychological prop the Comptroller of the Currency has ruled that national banks that wish to do so may report their bond collaterals at their par value instead of at their market values, now worth only about 50 cents on the dollar. The state banking departments of several states, notably New York and Illinois, have followed suit as far as state banks are concerned. This makes it possible for banks to present, through their balance sheets, a totally false picture of their condition. Furthermore, all these frauds can be concealed only so long as the Reconstruction Finance Corporation can continue standing by. Sooner or later the accumulated dead weight of the frozen assets which the banks are unloading as collateral on the Reconstruction Finance Corporation must impair the credit of the government (which has been trying hard for some time to depreciate its currency) and the whole superstructure of these props will come down with a crash. When that happens nothing but financial chaos can follow.

Behind all these efforts to save the assets of the banking and other investment institutions lies the utter collapse of the financial structure of the country's railroads. The value of their securities which make up the bulk of the assets of most savings banks and insurance companies has dwindled to the vanishing point along with the carriers' net operating revenue. "New Loan to Frisco Balks Receivership" is a headline which might be written, with a change of name of the railroad, for many a carrier that still appears in the finance columns as solvent. (The reference is to a Washington dispatch appearing in the New York *Times* on July 1.) The New York Central, the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, the Chicago and Northwestern, the Rock Island and several other large railroads suffered a net operating loss in May, in some cases, for the first time in years. And if the forecast of the Shippers' Advisory Boards as to prospective freight loadings during the next three months materializes, the hopes for a reversal in the fortunes of the railroads in the near future are very dim indeed.

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VI. PRICES

Amidst a stream of declining commodity prices reaching ever lower and lower depths a sudden reversal occurred in the prices of hogs and livestock which by the end of June brought them up to where they had been the preceding Fall. The real reason for the advance in hog prices was that there were none for sale, the farmers having sacrificed them at the lowest prices in history. But the big meat packing companies had a big supply of hog products on hand. By creating an artificial high price for non-existent hogs they laid the basis for advancing their prices on lard, bacon and pork to the consumer. This trick of the meat packers is called by the *Federated Press* "one of the most cold-blooded robberies of the consumer public ever attempted by a commercial interest in the United States." The price advance in hogs did not in any way benefit the farmer who had disposed of his supplies at cutthroat prices months earlier. But the rise was immediately passed on to the city worker and consumer in the higher prices of all pork products.

At this writing, prices of hogs are reported as having reversed themselves again, this time in a downward direction, while prices of cattle are on the rise. According to a Chicago dispatch to the New York *Times*, July 13, "available supplies (in the cattle yards) are the smallest for this time of the year since 1884." The reason for the scarcity, as in the case of hogs, lies in the fact that the farmers have sold their cattle at the lowest prices. The meat packers will use these conditions to put up the price of beef.

Prices of other basic commodities, however, continue to make new record lows. On several occasions during June, cotton was selling below 5 cents a pound. The country will enter the coming cotton year, on August 1, with a carryover of 9,700,000 bales (as against 6,370,000 bales a year ago, 4,530,000 bales two years ago, and 2,313,000 bales three years ago). Wheat is selling in mid-July at the record low of 44 cents a bushel in the Chicago market—the farmer gets only half of that. Corn—which is the real basis for hog prices—at 27 cents a bushel, and oats at 19 cents (on July 5) have reached their lowest prices on record. But the city worker—who has any money left to buy bread—is still paying 10 cents for the loaf of bread for which he paid 10 cents last year, and two years ago, and the year before that.

At the same time the farmers' income has dwindled to the record low of about $80 a year (in 1931), after deductions for fixed charges and operating expenses. Farm hands now make less than they did 30 years ago. (*United Press* dispatch from Washington, dated July 14.)

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But the danger of a rise in prices through inflation of the currency is not yet over. Indeed, inflation is almost certain to come, and that together with the effects of the new sales taxes is bound to raise the cost of living, provide new speculative profits for the middleman, and create a new false prosperity which is bound to lead even to greater disasters than the one experienced during the past three years.

As of July 15 there were 15,000,000 totally unemployed workers in the United States, and another 10,000,000 barely existing on the stagger system of employment. Even the capitalist press can no longer conceal the facts of the mass misery. "*Two Thousand Girls Riot for Jobs*—Eleven Hurt When Crowd Breaks Windows of Store (in the Bronx) Offering 40 Places"; "*Sweatshop Girls Paid Eight Dollars Per Week*—Two-thirds of Massachusetts Group Earned That Figure or Less, Commission Report Shows"; "*Slight Rise Noted in Jobs for Women*—Salvation Army Reports—Wages Usually 'Pitiful,' " are some of the headlines that jump at one out of the pages of the capitalist press.

"As to what may be expected in the Fall," commented Commissioner Frances Perkins of the New York State Department of Labor, on the precipitate drop of employment and payrolls in that state between May and June, "the only certain prediction that can be made is that we shall be faced with a relief problem of greater proportions than any that we have yet met. Just as our present factory employment drop shows the effect of a protracted period of unemployment, so the problem of providing public and private relief during the coming Winter will be inevitably greater until the turn does come, both unemployment and the need for relief being cumulative." (New York *Times*, July 12.)

Congress upon adjournment bequeathed the meager sum of $300,000,000 for "relief" of the unemployed, to be apportioned to the states and administered by them. Without attempting to analyze the value of this relief, we merely point out that this sum amounts to exactly $20 for each of the 15,000,000 jobless workers, equivalent to less than the average weekly earnings of New York State factory workers. (Over $3,000,000,000 have in the meantime been voted for guaranteeing the interest charges on the inflated security values of the railroads and the banks through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

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Capitalist Production Sunk to 19th Century Level

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SURVEY

From the Institute for World Economy at the Moscow Communist Academy

THE year 1932 has brought a further deepening and intensification of the economic crisis. With the exception of England, there is still going on in all capitalist countries a rapid decline of production.

As regards output, the capitalist world is already below the pre-war level. If one takes 100 to represent the index of production in the year 1913, we find that the United States is at present at this level, whilst in France the index has fallen to 95, in England to 83, Germany to 63 and Poland to 46.

Even more remarkable are the figures regarding the level of production in the various branches of industry in the capitalist countries, as is to be seen from the following table, in which the figures for the years given correspond to figures for the first quarter of 1932:

	Coal	Pig Iron	Steel	Cotton Consumption
United States	1906	1898	1905	1913
England	1900	1860	1897	1872
Germany	1899	1891	1895	1889

Thus we see that the most important branches of capitalist industry have gone back to the level obtaining 25 to 40 years ago.

One of the factors exercising a very great influence on the further deepening of the crisis in the last few months is the rapid shrinkage of investments in all countries. In the United States the erection of new buildings in 1932 shows an unprecedented decline. In the first four months of 1932, the total value of building contracts amounted to only 408 million dollars as compared with 1,476 million dollars and 2,482 million in the years 1931 and 1929 respectively. Thus we see that building activity amounts to only 27 per cent of that of 1931, which itself was a year of crisis. In Germany, the extent of building activity in the year 1932 declined in value to approximately 2,000 million marks as com-

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pared with 4,000 million in 1931 and 7,000 million in 1929.

The last quarterly survey of the Berlin Konjunktur-Institut shows that at the present time the monthly average of investments in all branches of German economy amounts to 275 to 300 million marks, compared with a monthly average of 1,110 million marks in the year 1929. Thus the Berlin Konjunktur-Institut is compelled to record that the worn out means of production are not replaced to the extent necessary to maintain the economic apparatus.

In the United States the disastrous decline of investment activity is to be seen in the unprecedented restriction of all private capital emissions, which in the first five months of 1932 amounted to 156 million dollars as compared with 1,049 million and 3,753 million dollars in the first five months of 1931 and 1929 respectively. The result is a tremendous falling off in the demand for all the products of heavy industry. This is clearly shown in the statistics regarding the output of pig iron in the first five months of the current year:

	U.S.A.	France	Germany	England
		(In millions of tons)		
1929	18.3	4.3	5.4	2.9
1931	9.6	3.8	2.8	1.7
1932	4.6	2.3	1.7	1.6

It may be of interest to compare these figures with the output of pig iron in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, with a pig iron output of 2,467,000 tons in the first five months of 1932, thus occupies first place in Europe and is also on the way to catching up to the United States.

A further factor deepening the crisis is the growing agricultural crisis, the collapse of prices on the market for agricultural and industrial goods. In the United States, for instance, the index for farm products stood at 56 on May 15 (pre-war index = 100) as compared with 59 in April last and 86 in May 1931. The purchasing power of farm products on the price basis of other products amounted in the middle of May to 50 per cent of the pre-war level, whilst last year it stood at 66.

Finally, in the last few months there has been a great falling off in the demand for articles of consumption as a result of the growing unemployment and wage cuts and the fact that the workers have finally spent all their savings. One of the most outstanding features of the last few months is the unexampled impoverishment of the proletariat and the toiling masses. This in turn intensifies the revolutionary fight of the working class against the capitalist system.

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And all these circumstances must inevitably lead to a further sharpening of the crisis in the next few months.

Even the Berlin Konjunktur-Institut, in its estimation of the development of the world crisis at the commencement of June of the present year, comes to the conclusion that with the exception of England the position in all countries in the last few months still remains hopeless.

The shrinkage of the home market and the increasing currency crisis confront all capitalist countries with the urgent question of forcing up exports and restricting imports as far as possible. As a result, the fight for markets has become more intense in the last few months. At the same time there is to be recorded a further increase of protectionist measures.

According to the returns of the American Secretary of Commerce, in the period from July 1, 1931, to May 1, 1932, 76 countries increased their customs duties. Of these 76 countries, 36 increased their general tariffs. Further, since last year, 34 countries have introduced import quotas, direct import prohibitions, state monopolies for the import of certain goods, etc. Finally, nearly all countries have placed considerable restrictions on foreign exchange operations.

The result of all these measures is a disastrous shrinkage of world trade. According to the calculations of the Berlin Konjunktur-Institut, world exports amounted in the second quarter of 1929 to 29,600 million marks, in the first quarter of 1931 to 18,600 million, in the fourth quarter of 1931 to 16,000 million and in the first quarter of 1932 to only 12,200 million marks. In other words, already in the first quarter of 1932, exports had sunk to 40 per cent as compared with the period before the crisis.

In April and May world trade had further declined, so that one can reckon on a further intensification of the fights for markets. The protectionist measures resorted to by the various governments called forth increasing dumping tendencies. Thus the London *Economist* recently recorded that foreign firms, in spite of the protectionist measures adopted in England, are offering goods at prices which, including the customs duty, still undercut the English iron producers.

In the middle of June, England replied to increased dumping by raising the duty on pig iron to 33 per cent, a measure which has greatly worsened the position of the German, French and Belgian iron industries and will undoubtedly call forth retaliatory measures on the part of these countries.

The decline of world trade in turn aggravates the crisis by

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worsening the monetary and financial situation of the capitalist countries. Whilst the financial crisis led in the Summer of 1931 to a deepening of the industrial crisis, at present a deepening of the industrial crisis is bound to have repercussions in the sphere of finance and credit.

At the same time there is to be recorded a striking decline in profits (the profits of the American undertakings in the first quarter of 1932 amount to only 20 per cent of the profits in the corresponding quarter of 1931). Share quotations continue to show a downward tendency. (According to the data of the Berlin Konjunktur-Institut, the shares of American undertakings have fallen 85 per cent in value since 1929). Bankruptcies are increasing.

The collapse of the Lee Higginson banking concern in the United States was largely a result of the collapse of the Kreuger concern. The *Bergwerkszeitung* of June 4, wrote in a pessimistic article entitled "America Faced With Disaster?":

> "Conditions in the United States threaten to develop into a catastrophe. . . . Behind the crumbling facade of American banking, which is patched up here and there by legislative relief measures, tremendous surprises are developing. . . . There are many indications that the Morgan group is already in serious difficulties."

A considerable deterioration is to be observed in the financial situation of all other countries. The disastrous financial situation of Austria, Hungary, Greece and the other Balkan countries, which are not only unable to pay the interest on their debts but, as a result of the tremendous drainage of gold and foreign bills, are threatened with a complete cessation of all payments abroad, is generally known.

The situation of Germany, whose payments on foreign loans and investments amount, in spite of the moratorium, to 120 million marks a month, is practically the same as in the above-mentioned countries. The constant decline in exports threatens the trade balance. According to the very optimistic estimates of the Berlin Konjnktur-Institut, up to the end of last year Germany had a favorable payment balance of not more than 100 million marks. Thus it is necessary to meet a part of the debt interests out of the stock of gold and foreign bills of the Reichsbank, which at present amounts to only 990 million marks as compared with 2,540 million marks in the middle of May 1931.

Von Papen's statement that Germany might be faced with the necessity of declaring a moratorium also for private debts, is therefore no empty threat.

The growing crisis in Central Europe has particularly serious

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effects in England, which has large sums invested in these countries. Even of the so-called League of Nations' loan, 48 per cent was subscribed by England and only 31.1 per cent by France.

In view of the increasing economic crisis, the improvement of the situation in England observable during the winter could not be other than of a temporary nature. The English First Commissioner of Works, William Ormsby-Gore, was not far wrong when he recently declared: "We are at a new stage of the crisis which will place in the shade everything England has hitherto experienced."

The bourgeoisie are conducting a fierce fight for the capitalist way out of the crisis; they are feverishly seeking measures which might improve the situation. These measures consist in the first place in reducing the cost of production, which is achieved mainly at the expense of the proletariat by means of wage cuts, cutting down of social insurance, etc.

The attempts of the bourgeoisie, however, to find a way out of the crisis at the cost of the working class lead to an intensification of the proletarian class struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The continued price drop, the increase in the stocks of unsold goods, the worsening of market conditions, the fear of fresh bankruptcies keep the banks from financing any enterprise.

The immediate outlook of the capitalists is a further deepening and intensification of the crisis. Thus Lenin's declaration at the Eighth Party Congress of the C. P. S. U. that our epoch is an epoch of tremendous collapses, wholesale and violent solutions of crises, is confirmed. For the more acute the crisis becomes, the more real becomes the danger of new imperialist wars, before all, however, the danger of a war of the imperialists against the Soviet Union. But at the same time the revolutionary movement of the proletarian and toiling masses who are fighting for the revolutionary way out of the crisis, is growing and expanding.

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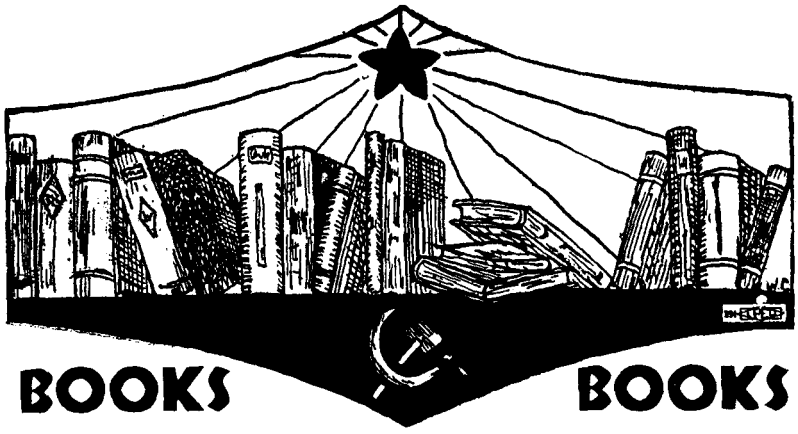

INTERNATIONAL PAMPHLETS, BOUND VOLUMES 1 and 2, Nos. 1-10 and 11-20. New York. $1.25 each.

Reviewed by JAMES ALLEN

Pamphlets have always been the side-arms of the working class movement, handy weapons in the class struggle. Workers, especially most American workers today, if they have the money, do not have the training to read large scientific works. Denied the "benefits of a higher education" they must gradually train themselves to read basic works of Marxist-Leninist literature.

In a movement such as the American working class movement, where the ideological level is low and where strenuous efforts must be made to raise it, pamphlets assume even greater importance. Agitational popular pamphlets serve to arouse the politically unawakened worker to the demands of the class struggle on the basis of his immediate, pressing problems and to rally him to a particular struggle, such as a strike against wage cuts, the struggle for unemployment relief and insurance, or against imperialist war.

There is still another type of pamphlet which serves a different purpose. It is the type of pamphlet which, in general, must take the place of books for the majority of workers. In it, agitation becomes propaganda. It is educational in the Marxist-Leninist sense of the word. The worker is led from his immediate problems to a keener and more thorough understanding of the development and decay of the capitalist system, his own role in hastening the destruction of that system and building a new, Socialist society. This type of pamphlet is especially valuable in raising the theoretical level of our movement. Marx, Engels, Lenin and other revolutionary leaders, writing pamphlets of this type on pressing working class problems, have produced classics of Marxist-Leninist literature. They have left a fruitful heritage to the working class movement of today in all countries.

Still another class of pamphlets of this general type, apply this heritage left by the founders of revolutionary proletarian theory to problems of the day. Of this kind are the pamphlets published in the International Pamphlet series, some of them fulfilling this function better than others, but all aiming to supply the urgent demand for this type of revolutionary literature. All of them informative—whether the topic be economic, social or historical—buttressed by the pertinent facts on the subject in the collection and arrangement of which the Labor Research Association has given in-

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valuable aid, they at the same time attempt to integrate these facts in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory and lead the reader to a more penetrating understanding of the problems which beset him. Written in a popular vein, some of them have been able to combine the functions of the two types of pamphlets.

With the publication of the first two bound volumes of these pamphlets, containing numbers 1 to 20, the beginning of a permanent and handy reference library for the revolutionary movement has been made available. Together with the *Labor Fact Book*, also prepared by the Labor Research Association, they form an invaluable source of information for lecturers, speakers, organizers, workers' schools, workers' training and study groups, and active revolutionary workers, in which are collected not only the pertinent facts on subjects agitating the labor movement today, but also the method of approach and of presenting this material so that the workers can understand it and be led logically to revolutionary conclusions.

The subjects covered in the pamphlets in these first two volumes include: Soviet farming, the war in the Far East, Soviet China, chemical warfare, the speed-up system, Wall Street colonies, the frame-up system, the young workers, May Day, the spy system, the American Negro, social and unemployment insurance, the church, the crisis and profits.

Other bound volumes are to appear as a sufficient number of pamphlets are published to make uniform volumes.

The importance of this series, particularly in preliminary theoretical training and as a stepping stone to higher Marxist-Leninist understanding of every-day problems, has not yet been sufficiently grasped by our movement. As the series grows its value becomes more apparent. We must turn it to much more extensive use than we have in the past, making it much more available to the broader masses of workers whom the deep-going crisis has prepared and is preparing for precisely such pamphlets as these.

The complete list of International Pamphlets follows:

1. *Modern Farming—Soviet Style*, by Anna Louise Strong, 10 cents; 2. *War in the Far East*, by Henry Hall, 10 cents; 3. *Chemical Warfare*, by Donald Cameron, 10 cents; 4. *Work or Wages*, by Grace Burnham, 10 cents; 5. *The Struggle of the Marine Workers*, by N. Sparks, 10 cents; 6. *Speeding up the Workers*, by James Barnett, 10 cents; 7. *Yankee Colonies*, by Harry Gannes, 10 cents; 8. *The Frame-up System*, by Vern Smith, 10 cents; 9. *Steve Katovis*, by Joseph North and A. B. Magil, 10 cents; 10. *The Heritage of Gene Debs*, by Alexander Trachtenberg, 10 cents; 11. *Social Insurance*, by Grace Burnham, 10 cents; 12. *The Paris Commune—A Story in Pictures*, by William Siegel, 10 cents; 13. *Youth in Industry*, by Grace Hutchins, 10 cents; 14. *The History of May Day*, by Alexander Trachtenberg, 10 cents; 15. *The Church and the Workers*, by Bennett Stevens, 10 cents; 16. *Profits and Wages*, by Anna Rochester, 10 cents; 17. *Spying on Workers*, by Robert W. Dunn, 10 cents; 18. *The American Negro*, by J. S. Allen, 10 cents; 19. *War in China*, by Ray Stewart, 10 cents; 20. *Soviet China*, by Mr. James and R. Doonping, 10 cents; 21. *The Yellow Dog Contract*, by Elliot E. Cohen, 5 cents; 22. *The Injunction Menace*, by Charlotte Todes, 5 cents; 23. *The American Farmer*, by George Anstrom, 10 cents; 24. *The End of the Ford Myth*, by Robert L. Cruden, 5 cents; 25. *Lynching*, by Harry Haywood and Milton Howard, 5 cents; 26. *Can You Hear Their Voices?* by Whittaker Chambers, 10 cents; 27. *Women Who Work*, by Grace Hutchins, 10 cents; 28. *To American Intellectuals*, by Maxim Gorky, 10 cents; 29. *Negro Liberation*, by James S. Allen, 10 cents; 30. *Wall Street*, by Anna Rochester, 5 cents.

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